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DAILY REPORT

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LD121327 Moscow TASS in English 1313 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Washington January 12 TASS -- By TASS correspondent Igor Ignatyev:

U.S. Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger has said the Reagan administration is prepared to start deploying space weapons system by system as they become operational.

Speaking in an interview with ABC television, the Pentagon chief said:

"As soon as we are ready to deploy something that we might call phase one of the Strategic Defense Initiative that would be an integral part of the whole system, I would be delighted to deploy it as soon as we can."

With this aim, he demanded that his department's request for nearly six billion dollars for SDI in its supplementary appropriations bill for the current fiscal year and the military budget for fiscal 1988 be met in full.

In his annual report to Congress, the defense secretary described "Star Wars" as "most important among our projects", which the administration would "never give up".

The report said, inter alia, that the United States would launch the full-scale production of anti-satellite weapons even if Congress did not lift its ban on their testing against real targets in outer space.

BOGACHEV: U.S. 'UNRELIABLE PARTNER' AT GENEVA

LD121618 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev.

When the leader of the U.S. delegation to Geneva talks was asked in a Worldnet television interview recently if the Americans were going to bring new initiatives with them to move the negotiations on nuclear and space arms forward, Max Kampelman snapped back irritably: "Somehow, we always have to come in with new initiatives. That is not the way to have a negotiation."

It remains a hard fact that the U.S. delegation to Geneva has really been most unwilling to make a contribution of its own to mounting an active search for mutually acceptable solutions to the issues on the agenda of the talks.

This has been, however, only half of the problem hampering progress at the talks.

The principal impediment has been in that over the past year the United States in Geneva has repeatedly departed from its own positions on the more important problems of limiting and reducing arms, or, more precisely, in that each time the Soviet delegation made an initiative to draw the sides' positions closer, the U.S. delegation took a step back, renouncing its own earlier proposals.

For many years the American spokesmen were telling the world, at the top of their voices, that the United States was prepared at any moment to start fulfilling its proposal for "wiping out the whole class of intermediate-range nuclear missiles".

However, when the Soviet Union in its Reykjavik package suggested scrapping all such missiles in Europe completely and slashing their numbers elsewhere drastically, self-same Kampelman said the United States would not return to the "Zero Option".

The situation concerning the problem of destroying strategic arms has been similar.

An understanding on this issue was reached in Reykjavik and the American side even proposed cutting the time limits for eliminating "all nuclear devices" to ten years.

However, the White House explained later that "all nuclear devices" meant only ballistic missiles and then said that the scrapping of ballistic missiles too was for it just a long-term objective.

The present administration describes as its long-term objectives, as a rule, those measures to reduce the risk of outbreak of nuclear war, which it wants neither to discuss nor to adopt.

So what remains, from the U.S. standpoint, from the mandate of the talks in Geneva, which are called upon to prevent an arms race in outer space and stop the arms race on earth? Virtually nothing.

Judging by statements by U.S. Administration officials, Washington is only prepared to hold negotiations in Geneva on legalizing the deployment of American strike arms, including those powered by nuclear explosions, in outer space.

It is this approach by Washington to "deep reduction agreements", it follows from yesterday's remarks by Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger, that the U.S. Administration regards as "tractable".

The number of arms control agreements derailed by President over the past six years has exceeded the number of such agreements signed over the same period by his predecessors Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter.

The U.S. stance at the talks in Geneva has not given any grounds so far, alas, for hoping that the present administration will endeavour to mend its reputation as an unreliable partner in agreements on limiting and reducing arms and lessening the risk of outbreak of nuclear war.

MAKSIMOV REFUTES PERLE CLAIM OF NEW 'HEAVY' ICBM

PM121747 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 87 First Edition p 5

[Article by Army General Yu.P. Maksimov: "Mr Perle Is Fantasizing -- With Malice"]

[Text] Addressing a briefing at the USIA Center the other day, R. Perle, U.S. assistant defense secretary, touched on a "report" obviously leaked to the American press by the Pentagon itself concerning the testing of a new "heavy" Soviet ICBM. [paragraph continues]

Perle said in this connection: "The missile you are talking about, like the SS-24s and SS-25s, represents the fifth generation of missiles. The treaty renounced by the President has therefore proved to be totally ineffectual with regard to restraining the Soviet Union in its development of a fifth generation of ICBMs. Despite all the fuss in the USSR over the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, it is continuing its extremely active program to further develop [razrabotka] and deploy [razvertyvaniye] its own nuclear ballistic missiles."

PRAVDA requested Army General Yu. P. Maksimov, commander in chief of Strategic Missile Forces, to comment on the American allegations. This is what he said:

Mr Perle's statement is absolutely groundless and is intended for laymen unfamiliar with the basic provision of the SALT II treaty. His fantasy about a new Soviet "heavy" missile is nothing but more lies.

We are developing [razrabatyvayem] no new "heavy" missile. It is clear that Mr Perle would like to make out that some work we are doing on our missiles on stand-by alert, which are known as SS-18s in the West, is actually the creation [sozdaniye] of a new "heavy" missile. This is not true, however, as the work being done has a quite different purpose -- to maintain the necessary degree of readiness in these missiles -- and is being carried out while taking existing accords strictly into account.

Naturally any arms, including strategic arms, eventually become obsolete and their use can no longer be guaranteed. They have to be replaced. This applies equally to Soviet and American arms. Replacing arms means they have to be tested -- and this is what is being done.

It is important to note in this respect -- a point Mr Perle preferred not to emphasize in his speech -- that the SALT II treaty stipulates a definite procedure for this kind of replacement, which sets clear-cut limits for possible modernization. The USSR has never exceeded these limits when replacing its strategic arms. And, in our current replacement process, we continue to adhere to the provisions of this important document, as stated by the Soviet Government on 5 December 1986.

The Soviet Union has created [sozdana] one light ICBM permitted by the SALT II treaty, which is known as the SS-24 in the West. This is a counterstep in response to the United States' creation [sozdaniye] and deployment [razvertyvaniye] of a new MX first-strike missile. We have modernized -- also in keeping with the provisions of the SALT II treaty -- a missile which went into commission about 15 years ago. It has been replaced by the missile known as the SS-25 in the West. All these measures are therefore within the bounds of the SALT II treaty.

What, however, is the real aim of statements like this by representatives of the U.S. Administration? It is quite obvious.

First and foremost -- to justify the unseemly action of the United States -- an action in fact condemned throughout the world -- in violating agreements on strategic arms limitation and presenting the SALT II treaty as allegedly ineffectual in restraining the buildup of Soviet strategic arms. In actual fact, the time-honored method of diverting attention from the United States' own actions to gain strategic superiority is once again being used.

The United States has stepped up work to increase its nuclear potential: the deployment [razvertyvaniye] of new MX ICBMs, Trident-2 SLBMs, and B-1B heavy bombers, the creation [sozdaniye] of a new type of mobile "Midgetmen" ICBM, the massive deployment [razvertyvaniye] of long-range cruise missiles, and the encirclement of USSR territory with forward-based nuclear weapons. In order to clear the way for these arms and justify the increase in its budget allocations for them, Washington has had to renounce the SALT II treaty. The U.S. Administration would very much like to blame the USSR for the undermining of the SALT accords and the buildup of strategic arms.

But these attempts are in vain! Those across the ocean cannot fail to realize that this kind of provocative -- in the literal sense of the word -- action by the Washington administration, which opens the floodgates for an unlimited strategic nuclear arms race, is causing justified alarm among all honest people of the world. And so Washington is stooping to this kind of juggling with the facts in order to distract the world public from condemnation of the present U.S. course aimed at revising the Reykjavik results and eroding the accords achieved there.

The Soviet Union believes, however, that there is still sufficient political wisdom both in the United States and outside it, as well as simply a sense of self-preservation, not to allow anyone to wreck the entire structure of strategic arms limitation accords which has existed for 15 years now. The greatness of a state, particularly a big one, now lies not in demonstrating its ability to endlessly augment and support the military machine or to chase after the specter of military superiority but in finding the possibility of living together with others.

At a meeting in the Kremlin with American Senator Gary Hart, M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, stressed that talks with any administration on the problems of ending the arms race have a future only in the context of moving on from Reykjavik. Rejecting Reykjavik is tantamount to rejecting the policy of disarmament.

PART TWO OF BOVIN ARTICLE ON DISARMAMENT ISSUES

PM121912 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Part Two of political observer A. Bovin article under the rubric "The Soviet Disarmament Proposals: One year on": "II. Counterproposals" -- passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /In the previous article we examined the basic objections to the Soviet idea of complete nuclear disarmament. These objections are useful. Their study and the proof of their inconsistency make it possible to clarify and supplement our own arguments, demonstrate the logic, and weigh up time and again all the possibilities and "impossibilities."/

An examination of Western counterproposals and an analysis of alternative approaches to the reduction of the risk of nuclear war are equally useful. It seems to me that these approaches can be classified within three main groups. First, each side creates [sozdayet] a full-scale and absolutely reliable ABM defense system, which neutralizes offensive nuclear potentials. Second, existing offensive potentials are maintained but supplemented by defensive ones, which enhances the deterrent effect and therefore reduces the risk of war. And third, offensive nuclear potentials are maintained (and maybe limited), but are used only and exclusively as means of deterrence. Everyone rejects the first use of nuclear weapons, and therefore they will not be used.

These are the suggested alternatives. Let us examine them in turn.

/First./ "Defense instead of offense." This is Reagan's familiar "strategic defense initiative." It is proposed to accomplish a turnabout, a revolution in strategic thinking -- to replace offensive weapons by defensive ones. If 100-percent reliable ABM systems are created [budut sozdany] by each side, nuclear attack becomes pointless and, consequently, nuclear weapons will turn into a heap of totally useless rubbish.

This proposal appears to involve something good. But, as both Soviet and U.S. scientists proved a long time ago, the advertisement does not correspond with the facts. An absolutely impenetrable ABM system is a myth, an illusion. Anything that does not contradict the laws of physics is possible. Within the limits set by these laws, man's technical capabilities are boundless. Theoretically, this applies equally to both defense and offense. Even though in practice means of offense have always "overtaken" means of defense. Consequently, the suggested "substitution" cannot take place.

Given the existing potential of mistrust, any step by one of the sides aimed at shaping [formirovaniye] an ABM system will inevitably bring about a counterstep by the other side. A defensive arms race will be added to the offensive arms race. An arms race in space will be added to the arms race on earth. Fear and suspicion will grow, and the risk of war will increase.

The "Star Wars" program has worsened the strategic situation in the world while still in its embryonic stage. The Reykjavik paradox is that a weapon which does not yet exist has come into operation. This weapon blocked accords on the reduction of weapons that do exist. But it is only an apparent paradox. Because our principled reaction is determined not by what the Americans are doing today but by what they intend to do.

What do they intend to do? No more and no less than covering the United States against the Soviet threat, we are told. But the simultaneous and parallel implementation of the "Star Wars" program and the "modernization" of offensive weapons allows a different evaluation of Washington's intentions. The implementation of SDI, in other words the creation [sozdaniye] of a space shield to protect the nuclear sword, is aimed at restoring U.S. strategic superiority and obtaining a possibility to deliver a strike and avoid retribution.

All in all, regardless of the direction from which they are approached, the attempts to bring into being an "absolute" ABM defense not only do not eliminate the threat of nuclear war but, more than anything else, increase this threat because they will render the arms race more intensive and more diversified.

/Second./ "Offense plus defense." It must be admitted that an absolutely reliable ABM system is unrealistic. But this does not at all mean that the "Star Wars" program lacks every trace of reason. It is possible to create [sozdat] ABM systems which could provide cover for command and communications centers and for strategic weapons bases. Even though this cover may not be 100-percent reliable, it could still noticeably reduce the damage from possible nuclear strikes. Given even a fragmented and limited ABM defense, a potential aggressor would find it more difficult to calculate the effect of a nuclear strike and, consequently, deterrence increases and the danger of war is reduced.

In other words, the defense of strategically important military targets is important not in itself but as an element reinforcing nuclear deterrence. [paragraph continues]

Such a defense would enhance a potential aggressor's uncertainty, hesitation, and doubts and, consequently, would increase the overall stability of the situation.

The aforementioned strategic scenario is based on the fact that the "potential aggressor" is, of course, none other than the Soviet Union. As for the United States -- "this cannot happen because it can never happen." From Moscow's viewpoint, however, the situation is not so unambiguous. From Moscow's viewpoint, the creation [sozdaniye] of a limited partial defense is interpreted as preparation for a first strike. In actual fact, a fragmented defense that is "full of holes" can hardly be expected to protect against a mass Soviet strike, against a strike to be delivered first. The defense in question cannot protect against such a strike. It is a different matter if the Soviet strategic forces were to be weakened by a first strike by the Americans. In such an event the planned defense would be fully capable of dealing with a weaker retaliatory strike, of ensuring survival and therefore "victory." This I repeat, is how the situation is perceived in Moscow.

And now about hesitations, doubts, and so on. While in legal proceedings every doubt is interpreted in the accused's favor, in strategic matters every doubt is interpreted in favor of the arms race. If a possible adversary begins to cover his offensive potential with a defense, in order to get rid of any hesitations and doubts I would be forced to restore the status quo, in other words to build up the strike potential. Balance will be restored at a higher level. But this does not mean that security increases equally. This means that the danger becomes greater.

So, there we have it. The problem of the interaction of offensive and defensive weapons in a nuclear conflict was thoroughly studied more than 20 years ago. It was established that the creation [sozdaniye] of a defensive potential (be it by just one side or by both sides) reduces the overall stability of the situation. This is precisely why the ABM Treaty was concluded. Nothing has changed in principle since that time. By revising the agreed approach and producing various options of strategic defense as alternatives to a nuclear-free world, Washington does not lead us further away from the danger of nuclear war, but brings it closer to us.

/Third/ "Neither defense, nor offense." The "Star Wars" program, in any of its options, does not improve but worsens matters. At the same time, a nuclear-free world is unattainable and unrealistic in the foreseeable future and under the foreseeable circumstances. What, then, must be done to sharply reduce the threat of nuclear war? First and foremost, it is necessary to admit and clearly declare that nuclear warheads are not weapons and cannot be used as weapons; their sole purpose is to deter the enemy; all military plans, defense budgets, and weapon development [razrabotka] programs must be based on this premise.

Furthermore, it is necessary to agree on the maximum possible reduction of nuclear forces; it is necessary to retain only as many nuclear weapons as would be required for stable deterrence, no more than that; nonnuclear aggression can and must be repulsed exclusively by nonnuclear means.

It must be noted that this reasoning is fairly close to the Soviet positions. We have been declaring for a long time now that we would never be the first to use nuclear weapons. We agree that the only rational purpose of these weapons is to deter a nuclear attack. We also agree that it would be better and safer if the level of this deterrence were as low as possible. Our plan provides for the stage-by-stage reduction of nuclear potentials.

But one must be consistent. A reduction of nuclear weapons would undoubtedly reduce the probability of nuclear war. But it would only reduce it. [paragraph continues]

We want something more. We want not just to reduce but to eliminate the danger of nuclear war. To make it not less probable but improbable and impossible. Only thus, and in no other way, will it be possible to guarantee the preservation of the future.

Halfway measures will be no good here. They only produce a semblance of a solution. They could generate illusions of security. What is needed here is an breakthrough to new political thinking, to a new perception of realism. Because, if we were to listen to our critics, even the benevolent ones, it appears that everything leading to life and salvation is unattainable, unrealistic, and utopian. Everything that threatens life and reserves the possibility of catastrophe, the possibility of death, is downright realism. It is time to change the system of coordinates. So that life may become more real than death. This is what we propose.

U.S. TO STAGE NUCLEAR TEST 5 FEB; MORE PLANNED

LD120851 Moscow TASS in English 0840 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] New York January 12 TASS -- The United States is planning to stage its first nuclear test this year on February 5, THE NEW YORK TIMES reported today quoting administration officials. According to experts familiar with the American nuclear test programme, the Department of Energy intended to conduct six nuclear blasts in the coming three months.

DMITRIYEV HITS U.S. STANCE AT CW TALKS

LD121343 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Multilateral negotiations on banning chemical weapons resume in the Palais Des Nations in Geneva today. Our correspondent Vladimir Dmitriyev reports from Geneva:

[Dmitriyev] Let me remind you that these are being held within the context of the disarmament conference, in which 40 states are participating. In the course of the previous round, which ended in mid-December, a perceptible degree of progress was achieved at the negotiations on the key issue: coordination of a draft international convention on a general and total ban on chemical weapons. The progress made is being linked in considerable measure with the constructive proposals made by the Soviet delegation; these go toward developing our wide-scale program of disarmament which was proclaimed a year ago in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement.

The new Soviet initiatives on banning the production of chemical weapons in commercial civilian industry are highly evaluated here in Geneva, in particular, as well as the initiatives relating to the acute problem of conducting on-site inspection. These initiatives are subordinated to the main aim, that of using the convention to secure conditions for banning chemical weapons, which would exclude any possibility of their resurgence. The Soviet Union, manifesting flexibility and a creative approach and with the aim of accelerating negotiations, adopted as a basis the British proposals; these have already been supplemented by useful amendments and become more significant and, to a considerable degree, accessible for a compromise solution.

The majority of delegates are of the opinion that 1987 would be the year for adoption of a convention, if, of course, all sides manifest good will. The chief obstacle is the position of the United States, which in pursuit of its narrow selfish aims, is holding up compilation of this important document.

BELONOGOV BRIEFS NEWS MEDIA ON GORBACHEV MESSAGE

LD122316 Moscow TASS in English 2239 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] New York January 12 TASS -- "Mikhail Gorbachev's message is indicative of the great importance which the Soviet Union attaches to the U.N. role in the international arena and to the strengthening of the world body for it to be able to attain the goals of its charter," Aleksandr Belonogov, permanent representative of the USSR at the United Nations, stated today.

He spoke at a press conference given at the U.N. headquarters in view of the great interest generated here by the Soviet leader's message to the U.N. secretary-general.

"The message from the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee," Aleksandr Belonogov pointed out, "Contains a kind of report on concrete actions taken by the Soviet Union to secure that the year which had been designated by the United Nations Organisation as the International Year of Peace really corresponded to its designation."

"The message also sets out the USSR's stand which envisages practical actions on the way to averting nuclear war from mankind, to the implementation of the programme for the establishment of a nuclear-free world and the elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction by the turn of the century, the establishment of foundations of universal security equal for everyone, and the settlement of regional conflicts."

"The USSR intends to work for that from the high ground which was reached in Reykjavik and which opened up new horizons for mankind."

"U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar is studying the message sent to him by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with great interest and attention, and intends to send a written reply to the Soviet leader", an official spokesman for the U.N. secretary-general announced today.

IAEA'S BLIX RECEIVED BY PETROSYANTS 12 JAN

LD122012 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 12 TASS -- Hans Blix, director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), who is currently in the Soviet Union as a guest of the Soviet Government, and persons accompanying him were received by Andranik Petrosyants, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Utilization of Nuclear Energy, today.

Taking part in the conversation were Aleksandr Lapshin, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Supervision of the Safety of Work in the Nuclear Power Industry, Leonid Ilin, vice president of the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences, and other officials.

During the conversation the IAEA director general was informed of the results of the work to eliminate the aftermath of the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

It was pointed out, in particular, that a particularly important stage of work to finalise the creation of the complex of shielding structures of the damaged power unit had been carried out at the Chernobyl nuclear power station as a result of the implementation of large-scale scientific, technical and other measures.

On the same day the guest was received by Nikolay Lukonin, minister of the nuclear power industry of the USSR. During the conversation Hans Blix was told about the sphere of the industry's operation. Matters concerning the development of the nuclear power industry of the USSR were touched upon.

The IAEA director-general had a meeting with Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. Matters concerning the activities of the IAEA and its role in strengthening international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy and further consolidation of the regime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons were discussed.

JARUZELSKI, ITALIAN PREMIER HOLD ROME TALKS

LD122133 Moscow TASS in English 2028 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Rome January 12 TASS -- Talks were held here today between Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, who had arrived here for an official visit, and Bettino Craxi, chairman of Italy's Council of Ministers.

A statement circulated here by the Office of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers points out that the situation in Europe, the state of East-West relations, and bilateral contacts were discussed during the talks. The two sides, the statement says, expressed confidence that Poland and Italy could play a useful role within the framework of the respective alliances in the maintenance of peace and in efforts towards disarmament.

The head of the Italian Government pointed out, the statement emphasises, that Italy came out in favour of achieving military balance at as low level of forces as possible, which should be achieved through the conclusion of equal and verifiable agreements.

The sides emphasised the advisability of deepening and broadening bilateral contacts, including those in the field of culture. The importance of closer economic cooperation was emphasised as well. The leaders of Poland and Italy also analysed the problem of "regional crises", declaring for their settlement.

WEEKLY 'INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ROUNDTABLE'

LD112104 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1230 GMT 11 Jan 87

["International Observers Roundtable" program with Nikolay I. Yefimov, first deputy editor-in-chief of IZVESTIYA; Georgiy A. Kuznetsov, deputy editor in chief of ZA RUBEZHOM; and Vitaliy S. Sobolev, All-Union radio commentator]

[Text] [Sobolev] Hello, comrades. This is our first roundtable meeting this year, and that puts us under the obligation not to confine ourselves to the latest events, but to also try to look ahead, to the extent that that may be possible.

Peace Year is over, but the problem of war and peace is as acute as ever. In the analyses of the international situation, and in the forecasts made by politicians and the press of various countries, pessimistic and optimistic notes can be discerned. The optimists point out, for instance, how much was agreed on in Reykjavik. The pessimists stress the desire of the United States to gain one-sided concessions from the USSR, the absence of any constructive proposals from Washington, its multifarious military preparations, and so on. But whoever's arguments may appear to carry most weight, it is clear that we cannot cease, for one moment, to struggle against the arms race. That much is clear to millions of people, and Washington cannot shrug off their demands.

On 15 January, the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons resume in Geneva. That day is also the first anniversary of the submission of the Soviet disarmament program, which, if implemented, would enable mankind to enter the 3d millenium without the nuclear threat.

[Yefimov] I think there are three events that distinguish the past year from those that preceded it: They are, in my view, the bold initiative of the Soviet Union in proposing the abolition of nuclear weapons by the year 2000; the accident at Chernobyl; and the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Reykjavik. The philosophers, wise and perspicacious men, understood long ago that human consciousness lags behind human life. Just as in astronomy, it takes years and even millenia for the light to reach us. Just 30-35 years ago, we were intoxicated by the power of man. We thought ourselves equal to every task. We could turn back rivers, dam gulfs, disembowel mountains and valleys, and build gigantic factories. But that power has led to an ecological problem on a global scale. Another power -- nuclear -- has posed a still more serious, still more urgent problem: The problem of human survival. The essence of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech of 15 January last year, and the essence of the new thinking which he so persistently urges on the Soviet Union, is precisely that we should not only be aware of the real threat that hangs over us, but that we should lose no time in totally averting it, casting aside all group interests, narrow class interests, and so on. The danger is monstrously great.

If we were to take all the explosives used in World War II as a unit, then the nuclear weapons already stockpiled would be the equivalent -- translated into terms of conventional explosives -- of 6,000 units. Just imagine that: We've stockpiled 6,000 World War II's, that is how much is now being stored in the depots. All that is capable of turning our planet into a dead, cold globe in 30 minutes. World War II cost 55 million lives. Multiply that by 6,000 units, and you get a fantastic figure: 330 billion. It's not even all that fantastic: nuclear might would destroy not only the living, but also those yet unborn, those who should have come after us to continue our race and preserve our memory. The accident at Chernobyl, and its radioactive fallout, which was bad enough, really cannot be compared in any way at all, not only with 6,000 World War II's, but even with one nuclear warhead. That accident, which so worried and frightened millions of people living many thousands of kilometers from the reactor that went out of control, ought to have provided much food for thought, both to ordinary people, statesmen and political leaders.

Alas, many of them have still not got the message. It has not sunk in, either in Washington or in London or in Paris. Yet we should not look at all we tried to do last year just in the light of our disappointment. In Reykjavik, despite everything, both the Soviet Union and the United States for the first time got within striking distance of historic decisions. Does this mean then that agreement is, in principle, possible? Yes, it is possible.

However much they may back away from this reality in certain Western capitals; however great our disappointment -- and it has been great for the very reason that we were so close to an agreement -- the fact remains that accords are possible. The beginning of last year gave us a comprehensive program for the abolition of nuclear weapons, and the end of the year confirmed its feasibility. I don't think any previous year brought us anything like that. Therefore, in my view, we must look to the future with a sense of optimism.

[Sobolev] The International Peace Year, as Comrade Gorbachev noted in his message to Perez de Cuellar, is a spur to practical action toward ridding mankind of the threat of nuclear war and laying the foundations for a comprehensive security system. The Soviet Union intends to strive to achieve that aim, so that we may have lasting peace. That is an optimistic view of the future.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, we can be optimistic. I'd like to stress particularly the significance of the International Peace Year, which began with the statement of 15 January, and which has been a kind of litmus test for judging the policies of the various governments. I should say that our Soviet initiatives and declarations, and many others [as heard], as well as our practical actions, in the form of the moratorium which was extended several times, have created a particular political climate on our planet that has enabled many governments, many parties and public organizations to make their contribution to strengthening international security.

[Yefimov] For example, one should mention the initiative of the Nonaligned Movement and of the Delhi Six. One must note the role of the neutral states of Europe in bringing the Stockholm Conference to a successful conclusion, with Finland being an example. Comrade Ryzhkov's visit to that country, which has just ended, has again shown the kind of relations that can and should exist between states with different social systems.

[Kuznetsov] One could cite the policies of a number of governments and parties -- say, the parties making up the Socialist International, the Social Democratic Party in Germany, or the Labor Party in Britain. In other words, as I see it, the international climate as a whole is now very different from the way things were before the International Peace Year.

[Sobolev] One thing that has played a large part in that has been the Soviet moratorium.

[Yefimov] The moratorium has played a very important part, in that the moratorium has said to millions of people abroad that the Soviet Union's intentions are sincere, honest and peaceful.

[Sobolev] That was a real, practical step. It's not just a program, not just a proposal; it is a unilateral practical step...

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] It was action.

[Yefimov] Our test sites were silent. The reaction of the United States to this sincere and honest action of ours has been, you can say, astonishing -- both spiteful and hypocritical. In my view, an astonishing statement was made last week by Dan Howard, White House deputy Press Secretary. In answer to the question why the U.S. is refusing to join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions, he said literally this:

As far as nuclear-weapons testing is concerned, the fact that the Soviet Union has announced the end of a moratorium that no one asked for is its own personal affair. From our point of view, from the American point of view, Howard continued, as long as nuclear weapons form part of the strategic defense of the United States and of the West, nuclear tests are necessary. The best moratorium, he went on, would be the destruction of nuclear weapons.

In what sense does this statement strike me as astonishing? First, it's amazingly cynical. No, whether or not to discontinue explosions is by no means the personal affair of the Soviet Union. At the latest UN session, 123 states voted for a resolution to ban all tests without delay, with only the United States, France and Britain voting against. In other words, it's the personal affair of 123 countries, the overwhelming majority of the peoples and governments of the world. Indeed, in the United States itself, the majority of the population is against the explosions. A resolution to ban all nuclear-weapons tests has been submitted to the 100th session of the U.S. Congress which has just opened.

[Kuznetsov] I'd like to cite the opinion of a member of the leadership of the Committee for a Rational Nuclear Policy, an American antiwar organization, Richard West, who has said that many legislators are ashamed that the United States is continuing its nuclear tests despite the fact that the USSR has not carried out a single nuclear explosion for 18 months.

[Yefimov] The second astounding thing about Howard's statement is its hypocrisy -- or, to speak more plainly, its mendacity. Consider well what he said: that the best moratorium on nuclear explosions would be the destruction of nuclear weapons. But we know perfectly well that Star Wars without nuclear weapons is inconceivable. A nuclear bomb is envisaged as an excitor [nakachka] for a laser weapon. As Reykjavik has shown, Star Wars is something they are not prepared to give up.

[Sobolev] They are not prepared to renounce nuclear weapons in general, either, because it was after Reykjavik that an absolutely colossal campaign was mounted in Western political circles and press, claiming that nuclear weapons were, if anything, even more of a necessity than bread.

[Kuznetsov] Well, it is not for nothing that they have now said they need to carry out between 200 and 300 tests of nuclear warheads. That alone speaks for itself.

[Yefimov] But they can not come out and say it honestly and openly, so they prevaricate. Finally, a third point: Howard's statement is also remarkable, in my view, for its absence of argument. For years, the excuse has been the problem of verification [kontrol]. But now that we have American equipment operating in the vicinity of Semipalatinsk, and the Delhi Six have offered their services, the problem has evaporated.

[Kuznetsov] They don't even mention it now.

[Yefimov] They've stopped talking about it. What the American leadership lacks is the political will, the desire, and that's really the problem. The will is absent because the introduction of a moratorium would put the brake on the continuation of the arms race, which they don't want to stop. They reckon that this time, they will at last gain superiority over the Soviet Union. Yet we now have a unique opportunity to stop the nuclear race. But I'm afraid the White House is going to ignore this unique opportunity. All the evidence suggests that they will.

[Sobolev] But, all the same, some encouraging prospects can at least be glimpsed. We've just been talking about the bill introduced in the Congress, on a mutual moratorium on the testing of nuclear warheads.

[Kuznetsov] In the House of Representatives three documents were brought in literally only a few hours after the assembly officially met for its first session. One of the other two is entitled: House of Representatives Resolution on Preserving and Implementing the ABM Treaty. The very title says a great deal, and in the decree section it reads: The secretary of defense does not have the right to test or develop antimissile systems or sea-, air-, space-based or mobile land-based components of such systems, unless the President assures Congress that the Soviet Union has tested or developed analogous constructions since the date on which the present law comes into force. In other words, regarding antimissile defense, Congress, if you like, supports, to a certain extent, the Soviet point of view rather than the Reagan administration's point of view.

[Sobolev] Part of Congress, for the time being.

[Kuznetsov] And yet another document is entitled: On the Arms Limitation Treaties. This document makes it binding on the U.S. Administration to adhere to the SALT II Treaty, which they have just violated by Equipping the B-52 bombers -- I am referring to the 131st and 132d bombers -- with cruise missiles. It is precisely this which is opposed by the authors of the resolution, and they want to cut off funds for the deployment and upkeep of launching installations above the limits permitted by the SALT II Treaty. In other words, this is a very serious document, which concerns money rather than just the wish of the House of Representatives.

[Sobolev] If you will permit me, I would like to mention yet another initiative, as one might call it, by the American legislators, which runs counter to the administration's intentions. To be precise, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has announced its intention of holding a series of hearings to discuss the treaties on limiting the underground testing of nuclear weapons and underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, signed in the 1970s. The administration still has not sent any of these treaties for ratification, but the new Senate leadership attaches great significance to their ratification. We do not know whether the present bills will become laws; that is still a big issue. But I think that the American legislators have started out from what genuinely worries people and, we must assume, people in the United States as well. This is apparently the main thing influencing feelings in Congress.

[Kuznetsov] What else can be said about Congress's activities? The U.S. draft budget for 1988, which was drawn up on the President's instructions, has been presented for examination. I think that these budget documents for a year in which regular elections, including the Presidential election, are to be held in the United States, are of particular political significance. We shall see what Congress does with the documents, but from what the President has presented we can see that the present administration's course remains unchanged.

[Yefimov] Yes, that is the case, and I would call the draft budget presented by President Reagan another step backward from Reykjavik. You know, it is indeed difficult at present to say what the fate of this budget will be, although even Republicans are criticizing it. It would appear that, first and foremost, this is the result of the dramatic weakening of Reagan's position because of the Irangate scandal, and second, of the elections to be held in 1988. Everyone is thinking not only of their political party and not only about the fate of the President, but about their own political fate as well.

As for the budget, expenditure exceeds \$1 trillion and revenue amounts to \$916 billion. Thus a deficit of \$107.8 billion is planned in advance.

[Sobolev] This is half the size of this year's but the administration is planning revenue on the assumption that the economic growth rate will reach 3.5 percent.

[Kuznetsov] On the basis of this year's experience it is forecast that the GNP will grow by no more than 2.4 percent and consequently the deficit will grow by a minimum of \$70 billion.

[Sobolev] In addition.

[Kuznetsov] In addition, yes, to the \$108 billion.

[Sobolev] One seventh of the budget, that is, every seventh dollar in this bill, is earmarked for paying interest on the state debt, which will grow once more in connection with the already mentioned deficit. There is as yet no question of paying back the debt itself, it is just a question of interest. Nevertheless, the taxes collected from the American people are going, to an ever increasing degree, into the pockets of the money-lenders. One American observer gloomily noted that the President will have a lot of problems with problems this year, including the deficit problem and the state debt problem. There are many debtors in the world today and most of them arouse profound sympathy; not the U.S. Government, however, which is throwing away enormous sums on military expenditure.

[Yefimov] Slightly over \$312 billion. That's the first thing, but it is indicative that, at the same time, the administration is proposing a dramatic cut in expenditure on social programs. Very interestingly, Senator Byrd said that an attempt has been made at taking a step forward in one sphere -- the military sphere -- and two steps backwards in the other -- the civilian sphere. Moreover the issue of SDI, or the Star Wars plans, immediately arises: They propose to allocate \$5.2 billion instead of \$3.5 billion for the current period and thereby dramatically accelerate preparations for waging Star Wars.

[Sobolev] The budget documents contain a special paragraph providing for an allocation to the Somozists and moreover, the U.S. Government wants to present its successors with the fact of, and the duty of, supporting these mercenaries ad infinitum. For the next 5 years at least, it is planned to allocate \$110 million annually to the Somozists. On the one hand, these long-term plans indicate that Washington is not too confident of victory for the Somozists. The NEW YORK TIMES' Washington correspondent even put it as follows: Many Reagan administration officials are coming to the conclusion that the Nicaraguan rebels are evidently doomed. On the other hand, however, again in the words of U.S. correspondents, these officials intend to arrange a demonstration of bloodshed in Nicaragua this year in order to justify allocations to the Somozists and to secure the continuation of these allocations. A great deal of money has been spent on the Somozists of late: In addition to the \$100 million officially allocated by Congress, they have received an undisclosed but large part of the hundreds of millions intended for El Salvador and Honduras. The Somozists have been given money received for the weapons supplied to Iran and tens of millions at least have been gathered from -- in the words of Abrams, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs -- Texan millionaires. On the instructions of the U.S. Government, the CIA has even elicited \$10 million from the Sultan of Brunei, a state located on the island of Borneo.

[Yefimov] Incidentally this is yet another violation of American laws, in particular the Boland amendment which forbids such drumming-up of funds from foreign states...

[Sobolev, interrupting] Yes,...

[Yefimov, interrupting]... and that's without talking as a whole about assistance to the contras...

[Sobolev, interrupting]... But in my view the administration forgets about all the law when it's a matter of its neoglobalist intentions. Furthermore, I want to note that the sultan is named the richest person on Earth in the well-known "Guinness Book of Records." A great deal of gas has been found in his domain, so that this sum is a trifle for him. Nevertheless, his gift also poured, so to speak, in drops into that rain of gold which fell on the Nicaraguan contras, and now they have to prove that the money has not been spent to no purpose. Meanwhile American observers close to the Pentagon consider that the Somozists will hardly succeed in getting through Nicaraguan troops positioned along the border with Honduras, and it will probably be necessary to transfer them into the interior of the country using American aircraft; therefore, the scale of involvement of American citizens in the undeclared war may increase sharply. A question arises in connection with this: Among journalists, including Soviet journalist, the currently prevailing view is that however much Washington would like it and however much it blackmails the Nicaraguans, Washington will not decide to go for direct aggression. In the event of intervention in Nicaragua, the reaction of U.S. allies in both Latin America and Western Europe will be so sharp that political losses will considerably outweigh any kind of very dubious gains. I don't deny the Americans' ability to calculate profits and losses, but Grenada reminds one that readiness for intervention is maintained in Washington at, so to speak, a high level.

[Kuznetsov] As is affirmed in American ruling circles, the use in time of direct American military force in order to help the Nicaraguan contras was also discussed in the White House, but no approval was given for this, not yet anyway. One of the possible military scenarios envisages precision air strikes by the Americans to destroy helicopters used in the struggle against the contras and the introduction of a naval blockade to interdict new military deliveries. Meanwhile, the Nicaraguan revolution is continuing to develop and to strengthen. Last Friday a very important event in the life of that small Latin American country took place. The new constitution came into force. Its draft was discussed throughout the nation. Some 10,000 various amendments were considered. It is a constitution of an independent sovereign republic, and the defense of this sovereignty and independence is a very important point in this constitution. The constitution envisages the existence of several parties in the country, including opposition parties; it also envisages the existence of a mixed economy, including a private economy. However, the most important thing is that the constitution directs the country's development toward the creation of a democratic people's state in which the rights and freedoms of man are truly guaranteed.

[Yefimov] But this is what perturbs official Washington.

[Sobolev] In the coming year the United States is clearly planning to raise the temperature in hot spots even higher. That's why there was alarm and displeasure in the United States at the prospect of national reconciliation in Afghanistan, the program for which was put forward by the Afghan Government.

[Yefimov] Yes, it has to be said that the U.S. reaction was negative and is a challenge to common sense, because in answer to such a plan of national reconciliation the Americans have stated, as they put it, that, first of all, Soviet troops need to be withdrawn. Moreover, this reaction was given in the form of an ultimatum. Well, first, Soviet troops in the form of six regiments have already been withdrawn. That's firstly. Second, they ought to understand in the United States that a certain logic of events exists; namely, cessation of fire and the creation of a national government on a very broad basis. All of this makes possible a complete withdrawal of Soviet troops, toward which the Soviet Union is striving.

[Sobolev] Just like the leadership of Afghanistan.

[Yefimov] Just like the leadership of Afghanistan. Consequently the task consists above all of halting assistance to the dushmans and halting outside interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. But, unfortunately, fairly alarming reports are coming from the United States about Washington intending to continue giving annual assistance to the rebels at the rate of half a billion dollars, and also to convince Pakistan of the need to create conditions for them to continue the struggle.

[Kuznetsov] Our Foreign Minister, Shevardnadze, spoke very well about this in an interview to the Afghan BAKHTAR Agency. Answering a question on when Soviet troops can be withdrawn, he said that this question is being considered by the Soviet and Afghan Governments and that there is full clarity in this matter. This event, that is, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the DRA, he said, is not far off. It is only necessary that in the countries beyond the mountains, that is, those contiguous to Afghanistan, should also understand what is in their interests and what is not.

[Sobolev] The United Nations has declared the new year as the Year of the Homeless. Continuity with the previous peace year is direct here. The lowering of military expenditure would supply the real means and energy to resolve this task, together with many other social tasks. The opposite, a growth in military expenditure, about which we have spoken, with regard to the United States, virtually deprives those people who need one of a roof over their heads.

[Kuznetsov] All the developing countries at the United Nations voted for this resolution, that is, for proclaiming the new year as the Year of the Homeless. For many of them the housing problem is indeed a most acute one, and not just housing. But the Year of the Homeless has a most direct bearing on the richest countries of the West. IZVESTIYA's London correspondent, Aleksandr Krivopalov, reports for example, that in Britain 100,000 people are officially homeless. In other words, one in every 500 British people. They like to talk about human rights in Downing Street and in Western capitals in general, but what they talk about is human rights in foreign countries. Our listeners know that the Article 44 of Soviet Constitution guarantees the right to an abode. Such a right does not exist in even one constitution in the West. It is simply not envisaged, although for the 100,000 homeless British people such a right would not in the least be superfluous -- and not only for the homeless. Aleksandr Krivopalov reports that last year, about 600 British people, mainly elderly, simply froze to death in their homes. For British people the winter is not considered to be cold in their country, and central heating is simply lacking in the overwhelming majority of homes. Some 1,000 people died from indirect causes connected with the cold spell. But those who spend the night on the streets do not feature in the calculations. They are excluded altogether from both life and from official statistics.

[Yefimov] Talking about statistics, in the United States there are two types of statistics, the official and the public ones. If you look at the official figures, it turns out that there are 300,000 homeless people in the United States. If you listen to what the public organization which occupies itself with the problems of the homeless says -- which is called the National Coalition of the Homeless -- then there are 2-3 million people who do not have a roof over their heads. This is far more than 300,000. You know, I have to say that I believe the public organization and here's why: I remember the years when I was working in the United States as a correspondent. You go along the streets of the city, a most rich city, amid those most chic skyscrapers which stun the imagination, and you see people here and there, generally sometimes in groups, lying on cardboard boxes, on some kind of rags and on the underground ventilation grates, to warm themselves. In Central Park, mattresses simply lie about under the bushes and people live there under the open sky. This creates a really terrible impression.

[Kuznetsov] In my view, it is to the merit of the United Nations to have drawn the attention of mankind to this social problem and to be pointing our way to what we ought to be doing: Cutting down on military expenditure and contributing the money saved to social needs.

[Sobolev] On that note the program has come to an end. Thank you, comrades, for your attention. All the best.

PEREZ DE CULLAR CITED ON FUTURE WORLD RELATIONS

LD091847 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS -- The world I would like fourteen years from now would be a world without war, where a code of international conduct is complied with, and the United Nations is fully used as an instrument for peace-keeping and peace-making and for promoting economic and social development of all people, Perez de Cuellar, U.N. secretary-general, said in an interview with "MOSCOW NEWS".

As to the relations between the USSR and the USA, Perez de Cuellar stressed in particular, apart from agreement to halt and reverse the arms race, apart from an acceptance by both sides of the requirements of peaceful coexistence, I would like their relations to be governed by a realization of their shared responsibility to encourage just and peaceful settlement of international disputes and, for the fulfillment of that (?responsibility), to strengthen the United Nations.

The cooperation of the most powerful states in enhancing the political effectiveness of the United Nations would not only help revive the system of collective security envisaged by the charter, it would also lessen eventually even eliminate, major collisions of interests between them.

In short, said the U.N. secretary-general, in the remaining years of this century, I would like the world to dispel the climate of tension and fear which has caused, and is aggravated by, the arms race, to justly resolve regional conflicts, to direct its energies and its technological skills towards the solution of problems of underdevelopment, and to promote and encourage greater (?respect) for human rights. This would give a new direction to international affairs which would bring about a qualitative change for the better in relations between the USSR and the United States.

SOVIET CUTTER RESCUES 2 U.S. OILMEN OFF COLOMBIA

LD121236 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1200 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, 12 Jan (TASS) -- Two American citizens -- pilot Larry Hennesey and mechanic James Adiyent -- have been rescued by the crew of the Soviet cutter "Volodarsk." The seamen reported the following from the Atlantic: An American helicopter (serial number 47782) was returning from Colombia, where it was doing oil prospecting. Three hours after takeoff the helicopter crashed into the water and sank, due to a fault in the blade control system. The pilot and mechanic bailed out onto a raft. The victims were spotted from the cutter "Volodarsk," which was en route for Havana. The seamen took them on board ship, gave them aid, and then handed them over to a U.S. Coast Guard ship. The airmen's condition is normal.

U.S. SUPPLIED 'FALSE INTELLIGENCE' TO IRAN, IRAQ

LD121257 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] THE NEW YORK TIMES has given Americans a truly scandalous piece of news: It would seem that over a long period of time, the U.S. intelligence services have been providing both Iran and Iraq with false intelligence information in order not to give the advantage to either of the combatants, so to speak, or more accurately, in order to fan the flames of the war which has already taken the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. THE NEW YORK TIMES described this action as a campaign of disinformation aimed at advancing the interests of the Reagan administration in the region. It turns out that the interests of the U.S. Administration lie in fanning the fratricidal war between the Iranian and Iraqi peoples and in thereby stepping up their influence in that part of the globe. Well, what is surprising about that? The Reagan administration behaves in the same way in other areas too: in Afghanistan, in southern Africa, and in Nicaragua.

U.S. CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION TO CONTRA AID NOTED

LD111009 Moscow TASS in English 0717 GMT 11 Jan 87

[Text] Washington January 11 TASS -- Four bills providing for the cessation of American aid to contras have been submitted since the convocation of the 100th Congress -- three in the House of Representatives and one in the Senate.

These documents attest to growing opposition on Capitol Hill to the U.S. undeclared war against Nicaragua. There still remains a deep rift on contra aid at Congress, but opponents of this aid believe that the scandal over the covert arms sales to Iran and the diversion of profits to the contras have changed the balance in their favor.

WHITE HOUSE MAKING ISRAEL SCAPEGOAT IN IRANGATE

LD111242 Moscow TASS in English 1215 GMT 11 Jan 87

[Text] Washington January 11 TASS -- By TASS correspondent Oleg Polyakovskiy

Anxious to wipe away the scandal over the secret arms sales to Iran and the transfer of part of the proceeds as illicit aid to the contras, the White House has contrived yet another maneuver.

Administration officials in the past two days kept asserting stubbornly that the operation had been initiated by Israel.

According to them, Lt. Col. Oliver North, the man fired from the National Security Council over Irangate, was first suggested the idea of funneling to the contras profits from arms sales to Iran by an aide to the then Israeli Prime Minister Shim'on Peres.

THE WASHINGTON POST quoted a U.S. official as claiming that "naive" White House had been used as a sucker by the Israelis in the Iran affair.

CBS Television said the reason behind such claims was simple: The more Israel would look the villain of the affair, the less grounds there would be for laying the blame on President Reagan.

The Democrats, who control the U.S. Congress investigating Irangate, have always been strongly in favor of military and economic aid to Tel Aviv since they have been receiving generous donations by the pro-Israeli lobby in the United States.

And so the new White House tactic also aims to convince the Democrats that the onus in the Iran affair is on Israel so that they will not want to go too far in their probe into the operation lest anti-Israeli sentiment be provoked in the United States.

But Israel is in no mood meekly to accept the role of the scapegoat the Reagan administration has been foisting on it obviously without its consent.

The U.S. "strategic ally" in the Middle East is afraid of a groundswell of anti-Israeli sentiment which could in the long run jeopardize Washington's generous aid to Tel Aviv.

So Israeli officials are leaning over backwards to show the White House as distorting the facts. Israeli Foreign Minister Peres, who was the premier at the time of the U.S. Government's clandestine deals with Iran, flatly denied that the idea of selling arms to Tehran had originally come from him.

During a visit to Rome he also rejected White House assertions that the transfer of proceeds from those sales to the Nicaraguan contras had been suggested by Israel as well.

A spokesman for the present Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Shamir, said:

"As far as we are concerned, we acted at the request of the United States in order to help the U.S. after being asked to do so."

U.S. REACTION TO NICARAGUAN CONSTITUTION VIEWED

LD130039 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1745 GMT 12 Jan 87

["International Diary," presented by Viktor Levin; Vitaliy Soblev commentary]

[Text] U.S. propaganda has reacted very noisily to the adoption of the new Nicaraguan Constitution last Friday, so noisily that it could not pass unnoticed. State Department spokesman Oakley called the Constitution a screen for seizing full control of the country by the Sandinist party.

He accused the authors of the Constitution of not instituting the rights of those opposed to Sandinist policies, and voiced his regret at the fact that the new Constitution would not assist -- as that State Department official put it -- in putting an end to the civil war. Over to my colleague, Vitaliy Sobolev.

[Sobolev] Since the draft new Nicaraguan Constitution was published beforehand for nationwide discussion, it also enabled official Washington to examine it. Anyway, the basic law was, so to speak, doomed for rejection by Washington politicians. It would only suit them in one way: if it had passed the leadership of the country over to the Somozists. Even before the ceremony at the Republic Square in Managua where the Constitution was proclaimed had taken place, the UK TIMES predicted that the constitution would not be to the liking of the U.S. authorities, and the latter's attitude to Nicaragua was not going to change.

It has not changed. As usual, when a country which is not on Washington's list of friendly countries is involved, Oakley and co. are worried above all about the destiny of the political opposition. But opposition rights, which are being lamented upon in Washington, are given more than enough attention in the Constitution. It proclaims political pluralism, or multilateralism, that is, I quote: the existence and participation in social life of all political organizations of any ideological orientation. The Constitution establishes the right, apart from the freedom of word, assembly and demonstration, for creating political parties, the right to aspire for power with the aim of implementing a program which would be sufficient for the interests of national development. And that declaration is not unsubstantiated: Opposition parties really exist. All parties of the parliament's National Assembly took part in consultations regarding the draft Constitution. All of them could work in the constitutional commission, and some of them seized that opportunity.

The development of the draft, its discussion, and the adoption of the Constitution passed in an atmosphere which was far from quiet. Both on the eve of its adoption and on the day when the Constitution was signed by the president, oppositionists staged marches in which were several hundred people took part. Among other things, shouts of "Down with Sandinist" could be heard from their ranks. Naturally, those who were discontent looked pathetic against the background of demonstrations by thousands of Nicaraguans who welcomed that important event in the social life of the country. But the lack of freedom was not something the oppositionists could complain of. The Constitution only takes exception with regard to organizations which are striving to reinstall the Somoza dictatorship or a similar political system.

Anyway, even Somozists can make use of the amnesty and return to normal life in the country, in the country, which -- I shall remind you -- is torn by war. Oakley calls that war a civil conflict, but the Somozists are trained in Florida and given shelter in Honduran camps established by the United States. They live and arm themselves off U.S. tidbits; they go to war, led by U.S. advisers; incidentally they fight not so much against regular or irregular troops as against unarmed peasants, and the definition undeclared war clearly fits better here. I would also like to note that the Washington advocates of constitutional rights for Nicaraguans look especially ridiculous when taking into account the number of their own U.S. laws which they breach during this undeclared war, to say nothing of international law, which was established by the court in The Hague. If Mr Oakley could chose, he and his ilk would have preferred to leave the Nicaraguan Constitution altogether unnoticed. But since it brings Nicaraguans even closer together and strengthens the international prestige of Nicaragua, they had to speak about it. The noisy dissatisfaction in Washington can serve as the best corroboration possible of the idea which was voiced in Managua: The new Constitution is a defeat of the U.S. Government.

U.S. INCREASES ECONOMIC 'BLACKMAIL' OF ALLIES

LD091833 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS -- TASS news analysis Ivan Ablamov writes:

The United States intensifies blackmail of its allies in trade. Even though a decision was made to resume talks between the European Economic Community (EEC) and the United States on trade issues, Washington shows that it does not intend to alter its tough, in actual fact, ultimatum stance.

The threat of serious clashes is preserved, the British newspaper "DAILY MAIL" writes. The trade ministers in Western Europe receive signals that their governments should be prepared for a new wave of U.S. protectionist measures.

The recent decision by the U.S. President from the end of January to slap huge increases in duties on a number of agricultural products from the Common Market countries was received with indignation in Western European capitals as the manifestation of unnecessary aggressiveness.

In Western Europe they cannot fail to notice that the U.S. Administration pursues the policy of unilateral discriminating [as received] and arbitrary actions both against those whom Washington views as its foes and against those whom it regards as its allies.

It is an open secret that Western Europe caught up with the United States in terms of labour productivity in agriculture and successfully competes with it in this field on the world market. As for the latest sanctions, the matter is not only in the loss by the United States of hundreds of millions of dollars from the fall in its exports of farm produce when Spain and Portugal joined the EEC and not in its wish to compensate for these losses by high tariffs on farm produce from the Common Market countries.

By the way, it is the United States that was the ardent supporter of Spain and Portugal entering the Common Market, hoping this way to tie them closer to NATO. More, the United States, as is indicated in Brussels, got the more than enough compensation for these losses in the form of duty privileges for the export of manufactured goods to Spain and Portugal.

It seems that the matter is that in Washington they deemed it timely and necessary decisively to drive back in the field of trade one of its arch rivals. Noteworthy is the fact that the U.S. sanctions cover both agricultural and manufactured EEC goods. The French newspaper "LE FIGARO" wrote that Americans wanted to claw back at all costs those markets which it lost and largely to the benefit of West Europeans. And since the United States does not succeed in this economically, power methods which reflect the U.S neo-globalist approach to international affairs went into play.

It has been announced in Brussels that EEC experts will gather shortly to discuss economic measures to be effected in response to Washington's protectionist sanctions. In West European capitals they recall these days that the threat of protectionism on the part of the United States is a double-edged weapon and that protectionism can ultimately bid ill Americans [as received] themselves.

DRA RECONCILIATION COMMISSION HEAD INTERVIEWED

PM121241 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4

[D. Meshchaninov "IZVESTIYA Interview": "It Is Necessary To Sit Around the Negotiating Table" -- first paragraph is an IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] IZVESTIYA's correspondent has spoken with Abdorrahim Hatef, chairman of the Supreme Extraordinary Commission for National Reconciliation in Afghanistan.

Kabul -- The Supreme Extraordinary Commission was set up under the National Fatherland Front by a resolution of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and the DRA Revolutionary Council, A. Hatef said, and this decision was not accidental. The National Fatherland Front is the largest sociopolitical organization in Afghanistan. It unites 800,000 members representing all strata of society, tribes, and nationalities.

Our commission comprises 277 members. These are not only people actively supporting the people's power or maintaining a neutral stance, but also people who, back in the past, held high positions under previous regimes and later joined the political forces which are in opposition. Our task is to seek ways for reconciliation and compromises between forces outside Afghanistan's borders and the DRA Government. Furthermore, we must establish contacts with leaders of armed formations and the opposition inside the country and with prestigious individuals who have emigrated, using for this purpose not only official channels but also personal contacts. We also intend to invite well known religious figures from neighboring states to Afghanistan for the purpose of completely terminating the undeclared war and interference from outside and consolidating peace in the region.

The Supreme Extraordinary Commission is the highest coordinating organ for national reconciliation on a countrywide scale. The setting up of extraordinary commissions in provinces, regions, districts, and villages will be completed in the near future, and their task will be to achieve accord and reconciliation at the local level.

The commissions have been given the right to submit to the competent organs proposals for amnesty for certain imprisoned individuals, to appoint people's judges, to resolve debt litigation between individuals and tribes, and to assign volunteers to the armed forces as an alternative to the current mandatory draft.

The people's power offers a hand of peace to all Afghans and proposes a joint discussion of the most urgent problems. I am convinced that many of our misfortunes stem from something simple -- lack of understanding. This is why we must sit around the negotiating table.

We must face up to the truth. Reconciliation has quite a few enemies. In all probability they will make (or rather, are already making) efforts to wreck the process of the normalization of the situation. No sooner had the Kabul newspapers printed the text of the Revolutionary Council declaration "On National Reconciliation in Afghanistan" when the voices of some leaders of the counterrevolution were heard from Pakistan, categorically rejecting the very idea of reconciliation and talks with the people's power.

What can be said about this?! These extremists claim that they would not take a single step along the path of normalization of the situation and would not cease military actions. [paragraph continues]

They hope that they will manage, hiding behind the holy name of the prophet, to dupe ordinary people and force them to wage war against their own motherland.

The question is, however: What right do they have to speak on behalf of Afghans who have been hiding in the mountains for years or are living in tent camps abroad? Can it be that these ordinary, deceived people need war, privations, and sacrifices? Of course not! What they need is peace and their own home, and not somewhere in Peshawar but in Afghanistan where they were born and raised. What they need is simple human happiness and confidence in the future. I think that their eyes will be opened and they will return home.

KABUL PEACE COMMISSION HOLDS FIRST MEETING

LD121347 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 12 Jan 87

[Text] Kabul January 12 TASS -- The Kabul Emergency Commission for National Reconciliation has held its first session here.

The commission, which includes activists of the National Fatherland Front and representatives of the intellectuals, clergymen, workers and other groups of the population, outlined practical measures to implement the Afghan revolutionary leadership's policy of seeking an end to the bloodshed and achieving national reconciliation.

Reports from provinces speak of popular backing for this humane policy and of spontaneous rallies at factories and institutions in its support.

The tribes' standing consultative jirgahs (councils) have launched efforts to provide all-round assistance to their compatriots returning to the homeland.

Mohammed Ibrahim Atai, a deputy chairman of the Central Council of the Supreme Jirgah of Afghanistan's tribes, said the chiefs and elders of the Pashtoon tribes were active in conducting a dialogue with those who had been deceived by hostile propaganda and in enlisting popular support for the call by the country's leadership for national reconciliation.

Representatives of the clergy of Shakar Darreh District in Kabul Province stressed the humane nature of the latest step by the Afghan leadership, aimed at achieving countrywide peace and accord in the interests of all Afghan people.

BRIEFS

POPULATION OF KABUL -- Kabul January 12 TASS -- The recent statistical survey has put the population of Kabul, capital of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, at one million 287 thousand. BAKHTAR news agency reports that the annual population growth in the city is five per cent and if this rate is preserved, almost two million 574 thousand people will live in Kabul by the beginning of the next age. The Central Board of Statistics reports that men outnumber women by 23 thousand in the city. During the census a stock was taken of the housing fund which now amounts to some 200,000 houses. The data obtained are currently being processed. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1007 GMT 12 Jan 87 LD]

ARMS DUMPS IN THAILAND SIGNAL U.S. EXPANSIONISM

LD101501 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 10 Jan 87

[Text] According to reports from Bangkok, the United States and Thailand have signed an agreement about setting up U.S. arms and military equipment dumps on Thailand's territory. Vladimir Beloshapko, our Southeast Asia correspondent, reports:

[Beloshapko] Public opinion of the countries of the region has assessed this fact as testimony to Washington's intentions to expand the U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia. The sad experiences of the past showed graphically the dangers associated with such penetration. I will remind you that during the U.S. aggression in Indochina, it was precisely from the Pentagon's bases in Thailand that aircraft, which bombed peaceful Vietnamese towns and settlements, were taking off. After the disgraceful failure of the U.S. intervention, the U.S. bases in Thailand were closed.

Now the American strategists are trying, to all appearance, to regain the lost positions. At the same time, they declare that U.S. weapons are stockpiled in Thailand in case an allegedly possible aggressive step is taken by Vietnam.

The provocative and instigatory nature of such argumentation is obvious.

It is very well known that Vietnam, together with other countries of Indochina, constantly advocates peace and good-neighborliness in Southeast Asia, which has recently been confirmed again from the platform of the congress of Vietnamese Communists. The Vietnamese people are engaged in peaceful creative labor and do not threaten anybody. On the contrary, it is precisely the Vietnamese people who have been the victims of imperialist aggression many times.

No. It is not to defend Thailand from the mythical external threat that the arsenals of the Pentagon are being set up on its territory. Washington is being guided by its own quite self-interested calculations.

It seems that across the ocean they would like tension to increase in the region and the countries which are situated here to be suspicious and mistrustful of each other. In such an unhealthy situation it is possible to strengthen one's own military and political positions, which in many respects were lost after the Vietnamese adventure.

SRV PAPER CITED ON BORDER CLASHES WITH PRC

LD101415 Moscow TASS in English 1035 CMT 10 Jan 87

[Text] Hanoi January 10 TASS -- "China should confirm by deeds its words that dialogue is better than confrontation" is the headline under which the army newspaper "QUAN DOI NHAN DAN" carries an editorial today.

"The attention of the international public", the newspaper emphasises, "has been drawn to the developments on the Vietnamese-Chinese border where the Chinese side for several days in succession massively shelled Vietnamese territory in Vi Xuyen district. Border points were attacked several times in force [word indistinct] a strength of up to infantry division, which resulted in a senseless loss of life among civilian population".

"China has stated more than once that dialogue is better than confrontation. Unfortunately, its actions do not match its words".

QUAN DOI NHAN DAN points out that at a time when the tendency towards solving contentious issues through peaceful talks [words indistinct] in the world, the actions of the Chinese side run counter to it.

"Vietnam, showing goodwill, has repeatedly stated that it is ready to hold talks on the basis of equality, guarantees of security and sovereignty, and mutual respect with a view to normalizing relations and restoring friendship between the two countries in the interests of peace in Southeast Asia", the newspaper emphasises.

PHILIPPINE COMMUNIST PARTY HOLDS CONGRESS

LD081622 Moscow TASS in English 1607 GMT 8 Jan 87

[Text] Manila January 8 TASS -- The Ninth Congress of the Philippine Communist Party has been held in Cabiao city, Nueva-Ecija Province. It was the first legal forum of the Philippine Communists since 1946, when the party was forced to carry over its activities into the difficult conditions of underground work. The report by the party leadership to the congress contains an analysis of the political situation in the country after the Corazon Aquino administration came to power. The task was put forward to create a broad anti-imperialist front of the democratic forces of the Philippines.

Despite the difference in the tactics of separate contingents of the revolutionary movement in that country, the congress papers say, special significance attaches in the present-day situation to the pooling of the efforts by the democratic parties and organizations, considering the scope of the anti-democratic offensive launched by the reactionary pro-imperialist forces in the country. The resolution adopted by the delegates to the congress expresses solidarity with the national-liberation struggle of the peoples of the developing countries against neocolonialism, racism and apartheid.

The delegates to the forum of the Philippine Communists expressed unanimous support for the Soviet foreign policy initiatives directed at eliminating nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

4,500 BREAK WITH CAMBODIAN 'REACTIONARY GANGS'

LD041005 Moscow TASS in English 0833 GMT 4 Jan 87

[Text] Phnom Penh January 4 TASS -- Some 4,500 former members of the armed Khmer reactionary gangs last year went over to the side of the popular government in the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the news agency SPK said.

All in all, more than 33,000 Kampucheans, who at one time teamed up with the reactionaries under the influence of hostile propaganda, have ultimately joined the government's side over the years of people's power, it added.

The news agency said more and more members of the Khmer reactionary groups every year become convinced of the anti-popular substance of the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and realize the hopelessness of further struggle.

The steady growth of the number of people breaking with the reactionaries testifies to the growing prestige of people's power and the efficiency of the humane policy conducted by the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean Government, SPK said.

IZVESTIYA REPORTS 8 JAN PZPR POLITBURO SESSION

PM121046 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "PZPR Central Committee Politburo Session"]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Jan — Poland has achieved a high level of relations with the USSR and the other socialist states. A special contribution has been made to their socialist states. A special contribution has been made to their development by meetings with the leaders of socialist countries, above all talks between M.S. Gorbachev and W. Jaruzelski, and by the Soviet leader's participation in the work of the 10th PZPR Congress.

This is spoken of in a report published here on a PZPR Central Committee Politburo session which summed up Poland's foreign policy activity last year and outlined tasks in this sphere for 1987.

Assessing positively Poland's energetic activity in the cause of the defense of peace, disarmament, and international cooperation, the PZPR Central Committee Politburo noted the great significance of Poland's participation in the elaboration and implementation of the Warsaw Pact states' peace initiatives, especially those contained in the Budapest appeal. Poland has actively supported the Soviet Union's proposals, including the program for the elimination of nuclear weapons by the end of the year 2000, as well as the package of Soviet proposals put forward at the Reykjavik meeting.

The session noted the special danger which the U.S. plans for the militarization of outer space represent for universal peace.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo stressed the significance of the all-around widening of relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and the improvement of the machinery for political and economic cooperation for Poland within the framework of CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, as well as the need for new forms of cooperation which accord with the changes taking place in the socialist community countries. In this context there was a high assessment of the results of the working meeting in Moscow of leaders of the fraternal parties of the CEMA countries, which laid the foundations for the fundamental, large-scale restructuring of the economic machinery of cooperation and the organizational structures of CEMA. This offers tremendous opportunities for the Polish economy. The closer Poland's cooperation with the USSR and the other CEMA countries, the more worthy a partner Poland will be in its relations with other states of the world.

The session examined the key tasks of Poland's foreign policy for 1987 arising from the decisions of the 10th PZPR Congress and the present international situation. It was stressed that the PZPR will attach special significance to strengthening and deepening cooperation with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries. The celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October, the report says, will be an expression of our ideological and political unity.

IZVESTIYA REPORTS RYZHKOV RETURN TO MOSCOW

PM121804 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Return Home"]

[Text] N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who was on an official visit to Finland, returned to Moscow from Helsinki 9 January.

N.I. Ryzhkov was met at the airport in Moscow by G.A. Aliyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Smirtyukov, administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers; USSR Ministers V.A. Brezhnev, B.P. Bugayev, and Yu.M. Volmer; Yu.M. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy foreign minister; and other officials.

Iu. Mohonen, Finnish charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, was among the welcoming party.

INCREASE IN GAS SUPPLIED TO FINLAND REPORTED

LDO72053 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 7 Jan 87

[Text] Leningrad January 7 TASS -- TASS correspondent Sergey Davydov writes:

The freezing temperatures in January appear to have confirmed the farsightedness of concluding this year's contracts on increasing the supplies of Soviet natural gas to Finland. The flow of this fuel from Siberia to Finland through Leningrad has increased by nearly a million cubic meters a day as against the previous year.

For this, one had only to switch on additional compressors on a gas pipeline running to Finland through the Karelian Isthmus. Because of bitter frosts, Leningrad, which has a population of 5 million people, consumes now considerably more fuel than usually. However, weather forecasts promising a long spell of cold weather hardly put any strain on the city's heat supply services. Gas supplies to the region became more reliable three years ago when a transcontinental gas pipeline connected Leningrad with Western Siberia.

In January fuel supplies to the city were increased by seven cubic meters a day, as it was planned. So far there is no need to use the reserves of large underground depots near the city. Under the contingency plan, the same Siberian gas can be obtained from the Central European part of the Soviet Union since all its gas pipelines are united in a single country-wide system.

There is a possibility of further increasing the supplies of Siberian gas to Finland in future. Already during this five-year plan, 1986-1990, the second string of the gas pipeline from Western Siberia to Leningrad will become operational. Total gas production in the USSR will top 835-850 billion cubic metres by the end of the decade.

IZVESTIYA HITS UK REPORTER'S 'FABLES' ON ALMA-ATA

PM081741 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4

[I. Dmitriyev "Rejoinder": "And Walked Abroad"]

[Text] The well-known Beumarhais comedy hero Don Basile can perhaps quite properly be considered one of the forefathers of disinformation. He was the one who thought that you could defame and slander anyone at all at any time: The main thing was to sow the "poison seed" of slander; then it would germinate and grow taller until... "evil walked abroad"!

This was clearly the prescription followed by Martin Walker, Moscow correspondent of the British newspaper THE GUARDIAN, in preparing his report on the events in Alma-Ata. Thus the latest "sensation" about "clashes" and "casualties" and "thousands of arrests" issued from the British journalist's pen and walked abroad. To give credibility to his "narrative," the author cites some woman from Alma-Ata who supposedly saw it all with her own eyes.

A woman again! How many of them there have been, these nameless witnesses to something or other that the USSR supposedly prefers to keep silent about. Let us recall that it was precisely with a quote from a similar mythical "woman from Kiev" that the UPI correspondent spread around the world the fabrication about the "many thousands of casualties" at Chernobyl.

We have already reported on the fables being spread by some Western mass media about events in the capital of the Kazakh SSR (see IZVESTIYA No. 362 of 1986). The GUARDIAN correspondent's composition -- which, incidentally, was immediately seized on and broadcast by the various voices of Britain's BBC -- differs little from them.

By all accounts some people in the West do not find the restructuring being implemented by the Soviet people to their liking. One of its main features -- openness -- by no means suits our enemies: Indeed, it scares them. Openness ties the hands of those ill-disposed to us. We are talking frankly about everything, describing all things -- not just the good things -- as they really are, and so breaking down the usual stereotypes about the "closed character" of Soviet society.

That is why, gripped with fear for their jobs, the fabricators of lies about our country are rushing about trying to find any pretext for delivering a pinprick or two if they can. And that is how the Alma-Ata fairy stories and other "revelations" of the kind by people accustomed to merely telling stories about the Soviet Union are born and come to spread abroad.

NORWEGIAN DEFENSE MINISTER CRITICIZES SDI

LD092334 Moscow TASS in English 2309 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Text] Oslo January 10 TASS -- Norway is opposed to the U.S. "Strategic Defense Initiative" aimed at the development and deployment of space arms systems banned by the Soviet-American ABM Treaty.

This was stated by Johan Jorgen Holst, minister of defense of Norway. He addressed the trainees of the Military Academy of the Norwegian Armed Forces.

Expounding the position of his country's government on main disarmament problems, he pointed out that Norway supported the proposals on a complete ban on nuclear weapon tests, on a 50-percent reduction in strategic arms and also on a complete withdrawal from Europe of medium-range missiles with a simultaneous reduction in tactical nuclear weapons.

Holste also came out in favor of the establishment of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe and of a nuclear-free zone in Nordic Europe.

FRG'S RAU CALLS FOR U.S., SOVIET MISSILE REMOVAL

LD092223 Moscow TASS in English 1751 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Text] Bonn January 9 TASS -- Johannes Rau, who is a leading candidate from the SPD [Social Democratic Party] to the office of FRG chancellor, has declared for the concrete measures to ensure the withdrawal of American and Soviet medium range missiles from Europe, for specific moves in the field of disarmament.

Addressing an election meeting of the Social Democrats in the city of Essen in Ruhr, Rau pointed to the need for the start of the second phase in the policy of detente. Without strengthening peace, the prominent West German political figure stressed among other things, it is impossible to resolve the most important home political problems of the FRG such as a reduction of the rate of mass unemployment and environmental protection.

EEC CHAIRMAN DESIRES NORMALIZED TIES WITH CEMA

LD092220 Moscow TASS in English 1757 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Text] Brussels January 9 TASS -- Belgium, which has become EEC chairman since January 1 this year, intends to take efforts to continue the process of normalizing relations between the European Economic Community and the CMEA member countries, said Belgium's External Relations Minister Leo Tindemans. He held a press conference here today, at which he set forth the area in his country's activities as the EEC chairman. In external terms, Leo Tindemans said. [sentence as received] "The threat of a new trade war being prepared against the Common Market by the United States constitutes a serious problem to the Community. Our relations with Japan are bad because of the continuous growth of our trade deficit with that country. [no closing quotation marks as received] For the first time in the history of the Common Market, Leo Tindemans said, its partners will discuss the political and economic aspects of the security problem in Europe. The results of the Soviet-American summit meeting in Reykjavik will become some kind of a starting point in that respect.

MAKATINI-LED ANC DELEGATION RECEIVED 8 JAN

PM091156 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Complete Understanding"]

[Text] On 8 January A.A. Moku, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received a delegation from the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa, headed by J.M. Makatini, member of the ANC National Executive Committee.

Speaking of the situation which has emerged in southern Africa, the head of the delegation stressed the great significance of the Soviet Union's solidarity with the South African people in their struggle against apartheid.

During the conversation it was noted that the ANC has rightly won recognition as the true voice and defender of the South African people's interests. It was stressed that in the Soviet Union there is complete understanding and support for the ANC's determination to put an end to the ignominious apartheid system and create a united, democratic state in South Africa.

ANC Opening Moscow Office

LD082258 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1648 GMT 8 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow, 8 Jan (TASS) -- The decision to open a permanent mission of the African National Congress [ANC] in the USSR this year has great political importance for the further intensification of our struggle to abolish the system of apartheid, said Johnny Makatini, a member of the ANC National Executive Committee. At a press conference here today, he expressed great appreciation for the Soviet Union's unfailing support of the national liberation struggle of the peoples of southern Africa.

The ANC, Johnny Makatini said, is marking its 75th jubilee at a time when the struggle against apartheid has entered a decisive stage. It has brought about a profound crisis for the white minority regime, and the initiative has passed to the progressive forces. In their attempt to preserve the system of racial oppression, the authorities in Pretoria have pinned their faith on total terror within the country and aggression against neighboring independent countries.

In such a situation, the ANC representative noted, our organization advocates unity of action by all the progressive forces of southern Africa with the aim of destroying the racist regime and creating a free and democratic society based upon the principles of equality and justice. The growing support and solidarity of all people of goodwill, and above all, of the socialist and nonaligned countries, is of enormous importance for us.

J. Makatini spoke of the need to impose comprehensive sanctions against Pretoria as soon as possible. Despite the demands of the international public, he said, the United States is still giving aid to racist South Africa. Without that aid, we would have put an end to the regime of apartheid long ago, he stated.

CPSU CC SENDS ANC ANNIVERSARY CONGRATULATIONS

PM091459 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 87 First Edition p 1

[CPSU Greetings to African National Congress on 75th Anniversary]

[Text] To the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress [ANC] of South Africa

Dear comrades!

We send you cordial congratulations on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the creation of the ANC of South Africa.

Through its years-long courageous and selfless struggle against the racist regime the ANC has deservedly earned recognition as the genuine spokesman and defender of the South African people's interests.

People in the Soviet Union, just as all honest people on earth, fully understand and support the ANC's determination to create a united, democratic state in South Africa where there will be no room for racism and which will guarantee the equal rights of all citizens regardless of the color of their skin.

The struggle by South Africa's patriotic forces has now entered a new and responsible stage. The mass political demonstrations, the strike movement, and the armed operations by ANC fighters are fusing into a single stream of the people's anger, which will inevitably overthrow the inhuman regime of apartheid.

Today, on the day of the ANC's 75th anniversary, we express combat solidarity with Nelson Mandela and other leaders and activist members of the Congress who are languishing in racist jails. Soviet people are convinced that the cause of the fighters for South Africa's freedom will triumph.

The CPSU Central Committee

PROSECUTOR ON 'WAR CRIMINAL' IN COSTA RICA

LDO32125 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 3 Jan 87

[Text] Kiev January 3 TASS -- "We do not consider the case of Bogdan Koziy closed. The butcher and murderer should be punished according to his desserts, a TASS correspondent has been told by Ukraine's Procurator Petr Osipenko. He gave an interview in connection with a report from San Jose that the Costa Rican court had declined the demand of the USSR Foreign Ministry for the extradition to the Soviet authorities of that war criminal responsible for numerous crimes perpetrated during the Second World War.

Bogdan Koziy, the procurator of the republic said, had left bloody traces on the territory of the Ivan-Franko Region. It has been established as a result of the investigation that he betrayed his homeland in the spring of 1942 and voluntarily began to serve the German occupation authorities as a policeman until January 1944 and then senior policeman in the Lisets police. Together with the Nazi he personally took part in torturing and murdering peaceful Soviet citizens. He beat the arrested persons with a rubber hose, set dogs against them, shot children dead in front of their parents.

The murderer fled overseas. Way back in 1977 the USSR Procurator's Office turned over to the U.S. Justice authorities documents exposing the criminal. Representatives of the Special Investigation Bureau of the U.S. Justice Department, who visited the Ukraine in 1981, had an opportunity to convince themselves of the crimes perpetrated by Bogdan Koziy. The American officials met with witnesses, familiarised themselves with archive papers, protocols of the exhumation of the remains, conclusions of medical experts. The American lawyers expressed gratitude to the Soviet colleagues for the assistance given to them and carried along the list of the names of two hundred inhabitants shot and killed in the former Lisets District. Yet the U.S. authorities did not extradite Koziy to the Soviet authorities, but only stripped him of U.S. citizenship. The criminal settled in Costa Rica.

The procurator of the republic noted that twice popular rallies in the Lisets District addressed to President Reagan the demand for the extradition of the butcher. They addressed a similar letter to the president of Costa Rica. The ruling of the Costa Rican court can be described only as an outrage upon the memory of the victims of Nazism.

Petr Osipenko said that Soviet people learnt with indignation the decision of the Costa Rican court protecting the murderer from retribution. The verdict of the judge who passed that disgraceful decision was that Koziy could not be extradited since his crime had been perpetrated more than 25 years ago and should be forgotten because of that.

There is no and there can be no statute of limitations for the war criminals, the public attorney of the republic stressed. This is envisaged by many international legal documents and agreements. The policy of giving refuge to murderers is incompatible both with moral and legal norms, he said.

PRAVDA NOTES KAZAKH CP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

PM121243 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 87 First Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondents T. Yesilbaye and A. Petrushov report: "Concern for Performance. From a Plenum of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] What is impeding the restructuring process? How can the republic's livestock-raising sector be transferred to the path of intensive development? Which measures must be taken to ensure that the fulfillment of the Food Program is really reflected in the improved provision of food products for the population? Such issues were at the center of attention for the participants in a plenum of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee which discussed the work of the republic's agro-industrial complex to increase the output of livestock products and improve their supply to the population in the light of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the Kazakh SSR.

The keynote speaker -- the chairman of the republic's Gosagroprom, E. Gukasov -- and those who spoke in the debate voiced grave concern at the state of affairs in the stockraising sector. The causes of the shortcomings are known. As was pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On the Work of the Kazakh SSR's Party, Soviet, and Economic Organs To Meet the Targets of the Food Program and Ensure the Accelerated and Stable Development of the Livestock-raising Sector," the application of extensive methods and inertia in the solution of the sector's fundamental problems have taken root in the republic. Bald declarations have sometimes been in blatant contradiction with reality. Ineffective use has been made of the powerful production, scientific, and cadre potential, and generalized appeals and paperwork have frequently replaced real active work. Self-complacency and pseudo-efficiency have flourished in this atmosphere of sham and formalism.

And what has been the result? Over the last 10 years state plans for purchases of livestock and poultry have been fulfilled only once, and those for milk purchases -- five times. Party and government resolutions on the development of sheep raising have remained unfulfilled. On many farms and in many rayons and oblasts livestock productivity has been below the average indicators for the republic. By handing over cattle and sheep of a low degree of fatness sovkhoses and kolkhozes received R640 million less than they should have in the last 5-year plan. And although there has been an increase in the livestock population, the republic has not even reached the 1971-1975 levels in terms of pork and mutton production. The state has been undersupplied to the tune of 385,000 metric tons of meat and 151,000 metric tons of milk. As a result the market allocation of meat and meat products per capita has declined.

Major shortcomings have occurred in herd reproduction. The following figures were cited at the plenum. Whereas in the Ninth 5-Year Plan 72 calves were obtained per 100 cows, in 1985 the corresponding figure was only 67. Over the 5-year period expenditure on the upkeep of barren cows has exceeded R700 million. On the farms the average daily weight gain for cattle is only 330-350 grams instead of the minimum 500-600 grams. It is not surprising that the production of output from livestock units is registering losses.

Although aware of this -- it was noted at the plenum -- the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, the republic's government, and the obkoms and oblispolkoms specifically and constantly failed to tackle the development of the stockraising sector and to make a principled assessment of the state of affairs therein. Many leaders attempted to explain their inability to manage efficiently by alluding to "objective causes": We are in a risk-farming zone, they say. Analyzing the real reasons for the laggardness, M. Mendybayev, first secretary of Alma-Ata Party Obkom, G. Stolbov, chairman of Pavlodar Oblast's Mayskiy Rayon Agro-industrial Association, M. Artemuk, director of Turgay Oblast's "Zheleznodorozhnyy" Sovkhoz, and other plenum participants emphasized: Success in the solution of the increased tasks depends on how party organizations renew the forms and methods of work and overcome the inertia and complacency. Today no one can remain on the sidelines of the restructuring process; a high feeling of responsibility must become the norm for everyone -- from the rank and file worker to leaders of all levels.

The need for decisive changes has not been thoroughly comprehended everywhere to say the least; outmoded methods of work are still in evidence. The links of the republic's agro-industrial complex are having difficulty reorganizing themselves. B. Bagdatov, senior herdsman of Semipalatinsk Oblast's Belibayev Sovkhoz, and other speakers remarked that the poor feed base remains the chief impediment to the development of the stockraising sector. Feed crop cultivation techniques are being violated, and the crop yield is low. The republic's Gosagroprom is paying insufficient attention to introducing the collective contract in the countryside. Instances of livestock thefts and losses have not been eradicated; this inflicts enormous harm on the economy of the farms and on the republic as a whole. Great overexpenditure of livestock on so-called intrafarm needs is occurring -- especially in Chimkent and Taldy-Kurgan Oblasts.

Along with major miscalculations in the organization of feed production there have also been scandalous instances of profligacy with feed. As a result some oblasts are experiencing sheep losses because of livestock units' poor provision with feed and the poor organization of the wintering process. At the same time, people's control organs have discovered among the socially owned herd on farms in Aktyubinsk, Alma-Ata, Kzyl-Orda, Turgay, and Uralsk Oblasts a considerable number of livestock belonging to private individuals. So, in Uralsk Oblast 104,000 sheep, 26,000 head of cattle, and about 7,000 horses were being maintained at State expense. Among their owners were 1,960 leadership workers. Primary veterinary and bookkeeping procedures have been neglected on farms, while rural soviet ispolkoms are failing utterly to keep track of the livestock population which is citizens' personal property. The plenum participants demanded that party raykoms and obkoms and local soviet ispolkoms put a decisive end to this pernicious practice and introduce firm order into this work.

To eliminate the exposed shortcomings more rapidly means bringing into action an important reserve for boosting the efficiency of livestock raising, the plenum participants stated. More active use must also be made of other opportunities to improve the supply of foodstuffs to the population. For example, comprehensively encouraging, on mutually advantageous contractual terms, the fattening of livestock on the private premises of kolkhoz members and sovkhoz workers. Naturally, the farms must supply them with sufficient coarse and succulent feed for this purpose. It is also necessary to reinforce the material base for the storage of vegetables, fruit, meat, and fish.

The ability to work with people and to give them leadership they can follow is today at the forefront of our attention. Success will accompany those who can understand people, who know their interests and their moods. High end results -- these, it was noted at the plenum, are the criterion for evaluating the professional and political qualities of any rank of leader. [paragraph continues]

The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee has outlined specific measures to improve work with cadres. Among them are reports by Communists occupying leadership positions to primary party organizations, and the job certification of senior management officials. All this will make it possible to reveal who among the unsuitable personnel has been promoted as a result of protectionism, even though he has been incapable of arranging matters and does not possess the essential professional and political qualities. The plenum demanded that party committees strengthen cadre discipline and responsibility, and -- in the economy and the social sphere -- that they skillfully combine the resolution of longer-term tasks and current concerns. The central theme of many speeches was the idea that what is needed is not "rosy" reports but concrete results which will ensure both substantial growth for an important sector of the agroindustrial complex and the improved supply of food products to the population. The year of Great October's 70th anniversary must become a year of decisive changes in the realization of the Food Program.

G.B. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, delivered a speech at the plenum.

NEW CONTROL COMMISSION CHAIRMAN PROFILED

LD121312 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Jan 87

[Text] Biography of Sagidulla (Kubashevich) Kubashev: Born 1927, member of the CPSU since 1953, Kazakh, completed studies at the Alma-Ata Veterinary and Livestock Institute, livestock scientist, candidate of Agricultural Sciences. Born in Inderskiy Rayon of Guryev Oblast in the family of a poor peasant. Worked as chief livestock specialist, deputy head and head of the livestock farming directorate of the Guryev Oblast Agriculture Directorate. He was chairman of Peredovik Kolkhoz in Inderskiy Rayon for about 7 years. Between 1960 and 1975 he was elected chairman of Guryev Oblispolkom, first secretary of Guryev rural Obkom and chairman of the Aktyubinsk Oblispolkom. In 1975 he was promoted to deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers. From 1979 he worked as chairman of the Kzyl-Orda Oblispolkom and since October 1982 he has been first secretary of Semipalatinsk Obkom.

Comrade Kubashev was elected second secretary and member of the Bureau of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee at the Sixth Plenum of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee on 10 January 1987.

He was elected a delegate to the 22d, 23d, 24th, 26th and 27th CPSU Congresses. He has been a member of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee since 1961. He is a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

He has been awarded the Order of Lenin, the Order of the October Revolution, three Order of Labor Red Banners, the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples, and five medals.

KAZAKH CC VIEWS SOCIALIST LEGALITY, LAW

LD121218 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1513 GMT 8 Jan 87

[Text] The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee has examined the issue of implementing the CPSU Central Committee decision on further strengthening socialist legality and law and order and stepping up protection of citizens' rights and lawful interests. It was noted that the shortcomings pointed out in the CPSU Central Committee decision also exist in our republic.

Party obkoms, oblispolkom, management bodies, and public organizations are paying little attention as yet to strengthening socialist legality and law and order, not regarding work in this direction as a very important factor in social and economic restructuring.

Party, local soviet, and trade union bodies have condoned numerous violations of the laws on labor, personnel, and wage quotas and the established method for distribution of housing, as well as insufficient measures for training leading cadres in legal education and serving the population. An atmosphere of tolerance towards transgressors, leniency, and liberalism has set in among many labor collectives at their places of residence. Obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms are weak in implementing political leadership via the law protecting organs, particularly in the selection and training of cadres. In a number of oblasts, the level of work carried out by militia services is low and at the same time the role of party organizations pertaining to these organs has been weakened and the significance of reinforcing cadres with communists to direct labor collectives is undervalued.

The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee has instructed the coordinating councils for combatting crime, alcoholism, and nonlabor incomes to organize systematic and effective work in exposing and eliminating all negative phenomena and to carry out a resolute and uncompromising struggle against suppressors and persecutors of criticism and persons involved in collecting and distributing slanderous testimonies. Instances of interference by anyone at all in the investigation and court hearing of specific cases must be eliminated. Measures against persistent offenders, thieves, burglars, and other antisocial elements must be made more severe. The whole of society must rise up and struggle against alcoholism, drug addition, parasitism, and nonlabor incomes.

Obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms have been urged to strengthen political guidance of the law protection organs and to pay special attention to issues of improving the qualitative composition and education of cadres, of control over and responsibility for performance of the functions entrusted to them, of comprehensively stepping up the capacity and role of party organizations, expanding the intake to posts in the internal affairs organs for guiding labor collectives and party and komsomol organizations, and increasing the party layers within cadres.

The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education has been advised to introduce the practice of accepting graduates to the law faculties of universities upon recommendation from party obkoms -- preferably from frontranking workers and kolkhoz workers with production experience or demobilized servicemen -- and of returning them to their oblasts when they have completed their studies.

The Kazakh SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs should similarly, in selecting candidates for enrollment in the educational establishments of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, totally exclude any manifestations of protectionism, nepotism, or local sympathy [zemlyachestvo] in this matter. The soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees are obliged to establish strict control over the observance of legislations by subordinate institutions and organizations to ensure the enforcement of law and order on their territory.

Ministries and departments have been instructed to introduce proper order at their enterprises and organizations in adhering to state and contract discipline and personnel and wage quotas according to the labor legislation and to put a decisive end to inflated statistics, production of low quality goods, bad management, and wastefulness.

The Kazakh SSR Trade Unions Council must adopt measures to intensify the supervision and monitoring of adherence to labor laws, of improvements in conditions of work, to raise the role of the technical and legal inspectorates of the trade unions and to involve working people more broadly in their work.

The Supreme Court, Procurator's Office, Ministries of Internal Affairs and Justice, and State Board of Arbitration of the Kazakh SSR should persistently implement the restructuring of their work and strive for reliable legal guarantees for the protection of state and civil interests.

An account of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee decision is being published in the press.

KAZAKH TRADE UNION COUNCIL PLENUM REPORTED

PM121325 Moscow TRUD in Russian 11 Jan 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Trade Unions Council Plenum"]

[Text] A plenum of the Kazakh republican council of trade unions has been held in Alma-Ata. Those taking part discussed and approved the report to the Kazakhstan trade unions congress and examined and approved the trade union budget and state social security budget for 1987.

The plenum examined organizational questions. V.K. Kadyrbayev was relieved of his duties as chairman of the Kazakhstan trade unions council in connection with his transfer to economic work. E.M. Zhakselenkov, who formerly worked as secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party East Kazakhstan Obkom, was elected chairman of the republican trade unions council.

G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, took part in the work of the plenum.

KAZAKH CINEMA OFFICIAL STRESSES INTERNATIONALISM

LD101602 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1355 GMT 10 Jan 87

[Excerpts] Moscow, 10 Jan (TASS) -- "We are obliged to pass on, as our most cherished inheritance, our internationalist experience to the young, our vital conviction that Soviet people have always been and always will be internationalists," Kaltay Mukhamedzhanov, first secretary of the Board of the Union of Cinematographers of Kazakhstan, writes in 'SOVETSKAYA KULTURA' today. [passage omitted]

The continuity of generations under socialism, if dialectically understood, does not rule out differences between them. And we should remember that the history of socialist construction knows attempts to make use of these differences, not toward the end of progress, but for the struggle against our ideology, to undermine the building of socialism. The author notes that nationalists of various hues have tried to exploit young people to their own selfish, antisocial ends, at various stages of history.

"We, as members of the elder generation, were absolutely stunned to find part of the young people even today submitting to the influence of nationalist firebrands.

"Without exonerating the young people, we should speak honestly of the moral and ideological atmosphere which has formed in the republic in recent years. The gulf between the word paraded in review speeches and the deed in the economy led to the loss of millions of rubles belonging to the state and the people. The gulf between word and deed has profound effects in people's hearts, particularly those of the young," Mukhamedzhanov notes.

People of over 100 nationalities live and work in Soviet Kazakhstan today. This is fertile ground for an internationalist upbringing, for strengthening the brotherhood of the peoples. At each new stage of history new approaches and new decisions are required. In Kazakhstan a profound analysis should be carried out of the state of affairs in all spheres of the economy and ideology. There is no doubt that fundamental changes should be introduced in the teaching of the social sciences in the schools and higher educational institutes, the article points out.

ALMA-ATA OFFICIALS TO RID CITY OF 'PARASITES'

LD121233 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 0210 GMT 8 Jan 87

[Unattributed report entitled "To Eradicate Parasitism Absolutely"]

[Text] Party, local soviet and law enforcement organs in Alma-Ata are taking active measures to institute proper public order in the town and to clear it of people leading a parasitic way of life. An effective system for the exposure of parasites has been put into operation and (?is being strictly applied). Many of them have already had work found for them, and those who [word indistinct] have no inclination toward socially useful work are being brought to accounts according to the law.

Nevertheless, as was noted at a routine session of the Republican coordinating council to combat crime, alcoholism and nonlabor income which was chaired by Comrade Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, it is essential to give work on the eradication of parasitism a more educational nature, to increase the sphere of activity of the law enforcement bodies and of the general public. An atmosphere of intolerance and universal condemnation should be created regarding parasites.

A specific task was set at the council session: The capital of the republic and oblast centers by 1 March are to be completely cleared of parasites and other (antisocial) elements. This process is to be guided by the provision of the law that states that parasites are those who without valid reason do not work anywhere over a period of 5 months in one calendar year.

The council recommended that rectors of higher educational institutes should not accept statements from school leavers about embarking upon studies if they are taking entrance examinations, if they have not been engaged in socially useful work for a year.

It was proposed that the republic Council of Ministers identify and bring charges against leading workers whose children neither study nor work and lead an idle lifestyle.

YOUTH PAPER DISCUSSES KAZAKHSTAN RIOTS

PM111535 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 87 p 2

[A. Lapin report: "Bitter Lesson Must Be Learned by Kazakhstan's Komsomol Aktiv and Young People's Educators"]

[Text] Alma-Ata -- I have certainly never had as many telephone calls at the office as now. Friends from Moscow, relations in the Caucasus, acquaintances from Siberia are seeking details of the events in Alma-Ata and asking how this could happen.

What answer can be given today, now that some time has passed and the underlying reasons for the demonstrations in December by nationalistically inclined young people have become clearer? One thing can be said with certainty: The roots of what happened lie primarily in serious omissions in ideological work among young people and in the slackening of patriotic and international education.

Unobjective assessments of successes became widespread in the republic in recent years. Those who had strong kinship ties and held posts they did not deserve, bribe-takers, and light-fingered people led a fine life. They were not greatly interested in the fact that livestock raising is lagging behind in the republic, the quality of the output produced at enterprises is falling, and waiting lines for housing are growing faster than the pace of housing construction. Everything was fine so far as they personally were concerned.

But then in December 1986 a Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum was held. The people who were awaiting changes pinned their hopes on its decisions. But those who were accustomed to live in the old way and merely paid lipservice to restructuring, those who had flouted the principles of our morality but escaped punishment, felt uncomfortable. They had the sense that the ground was quaking beneath their feet. It was impossible to openly oppose the imperative of the time. So another -- nationalist -- slogan was chosen. It turned out to be possible to use demagoguery about wounded national dignity to stir up some young people, who were blind tools of the instigators because of their insufficient experience of life and politics and naivete.

That, in my view and that of many people whom I have met recently, is the underlying reason for what happened.

On that day Sandibek Zinavdinov, freshman at the Alma-Ata Institute of Architecture and Construction, rose at 0500 hours. He dressed quickly, slipped out of the back door of the hostel, and made straight for the bus stop, where his friends were already waiting for him.

A ominous [temnyy], excited crowd of people was milling around in the dark outside the stadium. Shouts rang out: "To the square!"

Sandibek was just about to dash into an "Ikarusz" bus heading for the square when someone called him. Galymbek Toktogulov, Komsomol organizer at the institute, and another guy he didn't know came quickly up to him.

"Sandibek! Where are you going? You'll be sorry!" the Komsomol organizer shouted to him.

"You're not going with this lot, are you? There may be trouble!" the unknown guy added.

"Who are you? What are you doing here?" a thick-set guy with an evil frown in his dark eyes, armed with a stick and reeking of liquor, said from the crowd. "We don't know you. Get out of here!"

"I'm Kirim Koyshibayev, secretary of the Alatau'skiy Komsomol Raykom. I used to be secretary of your institute's Komsomol Committee."

In response people began to shout:

"Sandibek, don't listen to them! Come with us! Maybe we ought to sock them, eh, guys!"

Neither proof nor persuasion had any effect. The authority of the ringleaders and instigators proved to be stronger. The bus moved off and soon vanished into the darkness.

Sandibek did not reach the square with the rioters [pogromshchiki], it's true. He was stopped by volunteer militiamen from the institute.

Nevertheless, there were many students among those who rampaged through the city streets. This is shown by the reports that institutes received from the militia. It is not easy to list all the "escapades" described in the reports: the burning of cars, the beating of totally innocent people, the smashing of bus windows, hooliganism...

The facts confirm that the events did not begin spontaneously. For instance, here is the account of Yeskendir Gaipov, student at the Kazakh State University Law Faculty:

"On the night of 17 December we were on duty at the university campus. A fellow student ran up: 'Some people have arrived in a car, they've already been to two hostels, they're calling on guys to march to the square chanting nationalist slogans.' Indeed, we could see a light-colored 'Volga' parked nearby, privately owned, judging by the license plate, and the passengers were walking toward the hostel. But as soon as they saw our volunteer militia armbands, they turned round, ran to the car, and drove off."

There were many such cowardly instigators. Some students fell for their blandishments.

...By the evening the people who had gathered in the square began to behave more aggressively. They threw pieces of marble chipped off the facade of nearby buildings at unarmed members of volunteer militia patrols and militiamen. Sticks, iron bars, and bottles appeared in the hands of young people under the influence of liquor and drugs. They used them to attack the volunteer militiamen and law enforcement personnel who tried firmly and calmly to make the rampaging thugs see reason. Several militiamen and members of volunteer militia patrols were hospitalized as a result of these attacks.

"We did everything possible to get the students to disperse peacefully to their homes," Kazakh SSR Prosecutor G.B. Yelemisov said. "I spoke to them myself several times. I warned them that they were disturbing public order. I officially cautioned them and pointed out the illegality of their actions. Personnel from the party gorkom, the Komsomol, and internal affairs organs also spoke to them. But the excited crowd did not respond to our appeals. Spiteful people and slanderers are now circulating various rumors about militia brutality. I can say only one thing about this: During those difficult days the personnel of law enforcement organs showed the greatest possible restraint."

Byrgan Aytimov, secretary of the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee, also spoke to the people in the square. Komsomol workers Zhunisbek Sultanmuratov, Madi Nusupbayev, Nurseip Bepayev, Adil Ibrayev, and others worked actually in the crowd. But despite all the efforts, little was achieved.

How come the voice of activists that had rung out loudly from the platform at rallies and conferences was not heeded by some young people this time?

A strange but in my view accurate answer to that question was given by a gray-haired colonel standing in the cordon with his detachment. When Komsomol personnel asked him for permission to address the crowd rampaging on the other side of the cordon of militiamen, he shook his head and said in a tired voice:

"You ought to have spoken earlier! Earlier!"

Of course, nothing could be easier now than to pin the blame for everything that happened on Komsomol workers who paid little attention to young students. But that would not be completely true.

Nationalist views did not emerge only yesterday among some young people. They sprang up in plain view, just as a weed grows unless it is pulled up in time.

A few years ago informal associations emerged among pupils in the senior grades at some schools in Alma-Ata. No, not associations of kids keen on rock music or breakdancing [breyk]. They did not meet to discuss scientific problems or new fashions. What they mostly decided was how to settle scores with classmates or neighbors whom they disliked.

In the evenings the members of these groups attacked people in dark doorways and corners and beat up totally innocent passersby. They did not simply beat them up, but mocked their victims and humiliated them in every possible way.

But the militia instituted no proceedings against the members of these groups. They thought these were merely youthful pranks. They wagged a finger at the hooligans and let them go.

"We were going to write about this," I was told at the editorial office of LENINSKAYA SMENA, the republic's youth paper. "But the subject was not thought topical then. And many kids from those groups became students and took part in the recent disturbances."

Nor did people in Kazakhstan's capital notice for some time that the overwhelming majority of students in the city's VUZ's and tekhnikums belonged to the indigenous nationality, although people of over 100 nations and nationalities live in the republic. It was thought a trifling matter that students were housed in hostels according to nationality.

In conversation with me A.S. Stamkulov, dean of the state university law faculty, insisted that only a very few law students took part in the well known events. "We think that false information is being spread about our faculty..." he said. The dean was very concerned to portray wishful thinking as reality. The facts show the reverse.

I carefully studied the files of all students from the Kazakh State University Law Faculty expelled from the Komsomol. The following picture emerged. [paragraph continues]

First, the overwhelming majority of them were born and raised in the southern oblasts of the republic, in small villages and settlements where the population is largely homogeneous. Most had done their national schooling in the Kazakh language. They have a poor knowledge of Russian. They were mediocre students. Many had worked for a short while in production or had served in the army.

A similar picture is also characteristic of the Kazakh State University Faculty of Journalism.

The emerging nationalist sentiments among some young people were ostentatiously overlooked and were not properly rebuffed in time.

But education in internationalism, in V.I. Lenin's words, isn't something like an idle stroll through gardens of internationalist verbiage.

In this situation Komsomol work too was assessed on the basis of purely formal indicators. Meetings, sessions, festivals, and rallies trundled along the well-worn rut. Report and election conferences were held without engaging the feelings and thoughts of a considerable proportion of young people. There were formal changes, of course. Microphones were brought into the halls and speakers spoke without notes. But what about the essence of the matter? Did the situation change with respect to specific actions?

A few years ago the republic Komsomol Central Committee came up with the initiative "Sheep raising is young people's work." This ought to have presupposed the development and creation of new Komsomol and youth collectives and a switch to financial autonomy. But the new initiative proved abortive. The number of Komsomol and youth teams is not only not increasing, it is declining steadily. Last year alone 103 such teams broke up.

The republic Komsomol has also exercised patronage over the quality of children's goods produced by industry. It formulated a comprehensive program back in 1984. But there was no increase in children's goods. And the quality of those that are available leaves something to be desired.

Or take another example: The Kazakh Teacher Training Institute announced a subbotnik and sent 20 girl students to Alma-Ata Komsomol Gorkom... to clean floors.

Of course, in such an atmosphere of silence and indifference there was no question of specific work with each student. So had it not been for the dramatic events in Alma-Ata, Komsomol workers would scarcely have gone out into the auditoriums and the streets to talk to young people about acute and urgent problems. And the [Komsomol] raykom secretary and rank-and-file Komsomol member Sandibek Zinavdinov would never have met.

At his meeting at the republic Komsomol Central Committee M.S. Solomentsev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee, noted that work with students was in practice left to drift along. And the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee resolution "On Further Improving Party Leadership of the Komsomol and Increasing Its Role in Young People's Communist Education" in practice boiled down to discussion of the document. The bitter but fair remark was made that during the December days there were no leaders among Komsomol personnel whom young people would follow.

The events in Alma-Ata were also a test of dedication to our ideals. [paragraph continues]

Those who are dedicated to the ideas of internationalism and the peoples' friendship unambiguously determined their place. Immediately after the start of the events many personnel of the Kazakh Komsomol Central Committee, workers, propagandists, and members of the Komsomol aktiv went out into the city streets to conduct propaganda and explanation work. But what about the other Komsomol workers? After all, there are several hundred of them in Alma-Ata. They would have far outnumbered the students who originally gathered in the square. Where were they? Alas, some stood on the sidelines. There were also those who had merely posed as activists. Their number is small. But it would be hypocritical not to mention them. For instance, here is the personal case of Kurmangazy Abden Uly Rakhmetov, Komsomol secretary for the freshman year at the Kazakh State University Physics Faculty. He distinguished himself by "inciting students to demonstrate and provoking fights."

I was also told of the following case. Someone spent 2 days rampaging through the city streets, then on the third put on a volunteer militia armband...

Mayra Kuandykova, secretary of the Komsomol committee at the Foreign Language Teacher Training Institute English Faculty, accused students who firmly identified classmates who had taken part in the events but were now trying to hide of betraying the faculty's interests.

In Alma-Ata we learned the true price of inertia and unsuitable, obsolete approaches. Even today not all Komsomol personnel have abandoned the old methods of dealing with young people.

"Only now have we realized what really working with the masses means," one of the leaders of the republic's Komsomol honestly admitted.

Sandibek Zinavdinov and Raykom Secretary Kirim Koyshibayev did meet again. This time in a student auditorium. At the hearing of his personal case.

It was a difficult conversation. For them both.

Sandibek heard many bitter truths that day. He had to take a fresh look at many facts that he had long accepted merely out of habit. The fact that his grant is paid by a labor collective in which people of all nationalities work. The fact that he lives in a hostel built by an international team...

The student audience also asked the secretary difficult questions. Why is everyone admitted to the Komsomol wholesale? Why do Komsomol leaders visit the students so rarely? Why should people have to address them formally by their name and patronymic?

People had accumulated many questions to ask each other. It was impossible to answer them all at one meeting. And life is throwing up new ones.

...Time has passed. Life has returned to its normal tenor. I have before me another resolution from the Alma-Ata Komsomol Gorkom. Reading, for the umpteenth time, the smooth, bland lines making demands to "step up," "strengthen," and "implement," I try to find answers to the questions that torment us all: Will the secretary and the student meet again? Will the life of Alma-Ata's Komsomol organizations take a new direction?

Now that the situation in Kazakhstan's capital has been normalized and the outburst of nationalist elements has received a fitting rebuff and has aroused universal indignation among the republic's working people and young people, it is important to make a principled assessment of the lessons of the events and to do everything to ensure that there is no return to the past.

It is impossible to live and work in the old way!

MORE ON MOSCOW KOMSOMOL CHIEF'S MEETING

LD080036 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1415 GMT 7 Jan 87

[From the "Yunost" program]

[Text] In our daytime broadcast yesterday you heard the story of the meeting Moscow students held with Stanislav Smirnov, first secretary of the Komsomol city committee. Under discussion was the Komsomol draft statute and the democratization in the work of the youth organization. There was not a little criticism directed at the leading bodies of the Komsomol. Today we are continuing our story of the meeting that was held. We remind you: Stanislav Smirnov, first secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the Komsomol, is answering students' questions.

[Begin recording] [Smirnov] Just now in the Komsomol city committee we are defining a range of questions, issues, their volume, and the time for the implementation of specific business in the city which the city Komsomol organization must do; the number of organizers who should be implementing that program, that specific program. I have already said that we have forgotten that ours is a public organization at the level of staff [apparat]. And specialized commissions should be created under the elected bodies of the Komsomol city committee, a commission on work with the student youth; a commission on work with the creative youth. Incidentally, we also have under the Komsomol city committee a council of young journalists.

[Amarov] Please. Amar Amarov. I have worked for a long time in Komsonol. At the present I am a member of the CPSU. I have a question of this nature: it is a specific question and concerns our faculty and the Moscow State University Komsomol Committee. We have a category, most unfortunately, of the so-called Komsomol member who has left the ranks but not been removed. My question is this: Until what time will this category of left but not removed exist, and how, in general, does the city Komsomol committee regard this category?

[Smirnov] The question is clear. The problem is very acute and pressing, and the city organization was one of the organizations that went to the Komsomol Central Committee to get it to look afresh at this problem. In particular, 1 year, or 18 months ago, a decision was adopted to define the boundary of being in Komsomol for those who are only formally connected with it. Those who had left, but not been removed from the lists. The borderline of 2 years was named. Then this borderline was reexamined and reduced still further. Now you say no, but that is the case. One year has been defined. but that is again up for discussion. The Komsomol city committee went to the Central Committee with a proposal of 6 months. Now 1 year has been put forward for broad discussion. Let us see what the country as a whole says. Another question please.

[Rudenko] Aleksey Rudenko, a 4th year student, deputy chairman of the student learned council, group trade union organizer and first-rate student. Stanislav, I have a quite specific question for you, and then information specially for you, quite specific.

In the framework of the preparations for the goodwill games, a permanent subbotnik was held at the large sports area in Luzhniki. A warrant was sent to all rayon committees in Moscow. The subbotnik was rejected by the Moscow city committee of the Komsomol. Tell me, please, has this issue been examined, or not?

[Smirnov] Yes, I remember. I remember. I'll just set out the chronology.

[Rudenko] We don't need any chronology, just the results.

[Smirnov] I will try to answer this question maybe a bit more widely.

[Rudenko] No, we don't need a broad answer. Specifically.

[Smirnov] It was examined in the department of student youth, because the student department dealt with it. And not only Komsomol workers were punished there, but above all the administration.

[Rudenko] Of Luzhniki?

[Smirnov] Representatives of the administration, yes.

[Rudenko] I see. Then, as information -- what was the reason behind my question? This summer I worked -- I had a practical -- on the newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. One day a man arrived there who was literally shaking. This was one of the secretaries who had been released by the Komsomol organization of a major works. He had been obliged to tear his boys away, yet again, from the shop-floors -- the production process was stopped there -- raced to the great sports area at Luzhniki, and terribly sorry, but there was no work there. And since this is not the first time there have been such things on the part of the Moscow City Committee, and it won't be the last, he quite simply came to us and asked us to see how long this was going to go on. I was obliged to conduct a little investigation. What did I do? I visited the area when a subbotnik of another rayon committee was on; I visited the Luzhniki administration, and eventually, when the picture was clear, I telephoned round all 33 rayon committees of the komsomol in the city of Moscow. In summer. It was the start of August. There were two questions. The first was specifically: How did they evaluate that subbotnik? And the second was: What was their reaction to the holding subbotniks by the Moscow City Committee? These are the statistics. I got through to 22 rayon committees, and only 5 of them were satisfied. Of the rest half were dissatisfied, and the other half just started saying nasty things into the telephone. You see? Then I set off for the city committee, and, quite honestly, that was the end of things. I will not describe how I (?had to break my way in) to see the Moscow City Committee secretary, Comrade Kopev, who is present here, how I had to sit for a time in his waiting room and listen to the secretary discussing raincoats. You understand. So, when I got to see Vyacheslav Kopev, who is present here, he reported very happily that in general, the goodwill games had passed off well, and that the political success was also great....

[Unidentified speaker, interrupting] Maybe we'll settle it this way. The problem of Komsomol subbotniks is very acute. Let us view it this way: There are sometimes up to 1,000 subbotniks a day in the city. A day. Up to 1,000 subbotniks.

The staff of the Komsomol city committee, if [words indistinct], and the staff of the Komsomol rayon committee, this is such a miserly quantity in relation to the number of subbotniks. A system of organization is needed. So let us ask the organizer.

[Smirnov] We are executives, not organizers. We went to do work which, in principle, should have already been arranged.

[Unidentified speaker] And who is supposed to be the organizer?

[Smirnov] We receive instructions from above, as always, we are told that we must go to work at such and such a site.

[Unidentified speaker] But let's get on to the system of organizing subbotniks, please.

[Smirnov] The system of organization? I think that is [word indistinct] for the bodies higher up, as has been accepted to date.

[Unidentified speaker] We arrive, and there are no spades, nothing; the people turn round and go; and then an opinion about the subbotniks is formed.

[Unidentified speaker] Please, here's another question.

[Unidentified speaker] You know, concerning the numbers of people who go out on subbotniks, I'm not revealing any secret if I say that a subbotnik is voluntary Komsomol measure, a voluntary one, you understand? But what happens?

[Smirnov] Is that it, have you finished?

[Unidentified speaker] There is another thing, that our attitude to everything, which can sometimes be very parasitical, creates a problem such that you organize things, we arrive and make an effort, but you have forgotten about political backup for holding subbotniks, so that you would be solving the issues by ringing up and getting through to everybody, in fact, explaining a few days in advance what the idea of the work was, how much would be done, and so forth.

[Smirnov] I agree with what you are saying, we must change things. But if the Komsomol city committee were to (?send) fewer [word indistinct] in the Komsomol staff, there would be no increase in the number of full-time staff who would go to the sites to perform the subbotniks. I'll tell you this; the present period is very much marked in the Komsomol by the fact that the desire to act is in a way very much commensurate with the desire to do nothing. In this case, you could put it this way: either everything has to change straightaway, someone, the Komsomol city committee, has to change it all, or let's reject it all.

[Unidentified speaker] For the first time in my life I am standing above the secretaries, mostly we see them on the platform, and I think this meeting is a vivid demonstration of democracy, a step has been made, and your prestige, and the prestige of many leading Komsomol workers, will increase, I think, if similar meetings are held regularly. Second, I have this observation, or wish, perhaps, I don't know, but I ask you not to reject it immediately, you should think about it.

So, we are having state acceptance in the country, aren't we? State acceptance concerns enterprises which produce such and such material valuables. You are workers on the ideological front, just like many emancipated workers. But how about bringing in something similar, so that your pay would be determined by the specific results of your work? You understand? That would be interesting. [laughter and applause]

[Stepanov] Igor Stepanov, 3d year. I'd like to put my opinion and know what you think about it, that the Komsomol has in recent years become just an understudy for all kinds of administrations, at all sorts of levels, and a subsidiary, auxiliary understudy, while it ought to be a political youth organization, and that should determine the essence of it. [end recording]

The meeting with Stanislav Smirnov, first secretary of the Moscow Komsomol City Committee lasted a long time. As you will have understood, it was acute and interesting.

There is a motion to continue the conversation started in Moscow, to expand and deepen it, to talk about all the problems which are of concern to young people in 1987. Those in favor? It's unanimous. In that case, we await your letters.

The address again" 127427; Moscow; Ulitsa Akademika Koroleva, 19; Radio Station Yunost.

SCIENTIFIC COUNCIL ON PEACE, DISARMAMENT MEETS

Appeal Cited

LD091754 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Text] Moscow January 9 TASS -- Follows the text of an appeal by the Scientific Council on the Study of the Problems of Peace and Disarmament of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the State Committee for Science and Technology and the Soviet Peace Committee:

The need to prevent a nuclear war for the sake of saving modern civilization has turned into a problem of overriding importance to the whole of mankind. The leaders of the USSR and the United States agreed that a nuclear war cannot be waged, [words indistinct] there can be no victors in it, and that a bid should be pursued to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The Soviet-U.S. meeting in Reykjavik has proved that the possibility of an agreement on phasing out nuclear weapons is real not in some indefinite distant future but already at present, in conditions of the world that exists now.

The removal of the risk of a nuclear war calls for vigorous and urgent measures aimed at blocking the development of new nuclear weapon systems; at slowing down and eventually terminating completely the nuclear arms race, at getting down to abolishing nuclear weapons totally and everywhere. Certainly, this is possible only in conditions when outer space, which belongs to the whole of mankind, is preserved peaceful.

A verifiable nuclear test ban could become the first step toward attaining the afore-mentioned objectives. It could signal the beginning of a decisive turn in inter-state relations toward trust, cooperation, understanding, joint solution of the global problems of modern civilization. This historic chance cannot be allowed to slip away.

The unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests, in effect since August 6, 1985, remains in force and can be extended in case it becomes at minimum bilateral, a Soviet-U.S. one.

At the 41st General Assembly session the overwhelming majority of the U.N. member states described the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty as a matter of paramount importance and called upon all states, especially those in possession of nuclear weapons, to exert maximum efforts and display the political will to hammer out without delay and conclude a treaty on ending and banning nuclear weapons tests.

The scientific Council on the Study of the Problems of Peace and Disarmament shares this conviction and appeals to the international and national scientific organizations and also to the scientists in the United States, Britain, France and in other countries to use their influence to prevent the unique possibility to put a brake on the nuclear arms race from being slipped away and to prevent the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests from being thwarted. [Sentence as received]

We are convinced that the stern realities of our time which are encountered by mankind call for urgent and decisive actions by all people who are concerned about the destinies of civilization.

The scientific council is ready to cooperate in this noble cause with all scientists and scientific organizations sharing the strong belief that the task of totally ending nuclear tests should be accomplished as soon as possible.

Arbatov Speaks

LD100017 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 9 Jan 87

[Excerpts] A general meeting of the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on research into the problems of peace and disarmament was held in Moscow today.

[passage omitted]

The general meeting was addressed by Academician Arbatov. He said in particular:

[Begin Arbatov recording] Comrade Gorbachev's statement of 15 January 1986 was the first result of the large amount of work done by the party and the Central Committee. In a few days' time it will be 1 year since that statement was issued. At the time, of course, the statement made a very big impression, above all through the fact that it was the first time that the dream of a nuclear-free and secure world had so convincingly been embodied in realistic, specific, and tangible proposals. These immediately made this great goal achievable, though not of course close and easy.

Subsequently, the statement was supplemented by the foreign-policy platform of the 27th congress and in particular the new concepts of security put forward at that congress, the extension of the moratorium and its establishment in international life as a powerful practical factor of policy, Stockholm and Reykjavik.

As a result of all this, for more than a year we have been able to state that the initiative has definitely been with the Soviet Union, and without in the least playing down the importance of the efforts of other countries, other movements, and other figures we may say that during the past year Soviet policy has provided a powerful impetus to the political process.

Our age is an age of a great historical paradox. On one hand it is quite obvious that it is impossible to wage war and that to do so would be suicide. It is obvious that there remains less and less room for the use of military force by the great powers. On the other hand we are seeing the most intensive ever peacetime military preparations and the most profound subordination to militarism of the economy, science, politics, international relations, and even culture and ideology. This paradox is very dramatically reflected in the clash of two types of political thinking -- the new and the old. This conflict is more complex and more profound than simply a clash between the idea of peace and the idea of war. History itself has posed in this connection the question of which way it will be. Either militarism will put an end to mankind or mankind will put an end to militarism. Marxism-Leninism with the historical optimism characteristic of its teaching has, seeing this danger, displayed faith in the reason, good sense and finally the instinct of self-preservation that is characteristic of mankind. [end recording]

YEVTUSHENKO REJECTS 'UNAMBIGUOUSNESS' IN CULTURE

PM0711507 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 3 Jan 87 p 4

[Yevgeniy Yevtushenko article: "The Right to Ambiguity"]

[Text] Back in the past Pasternak wrote the following lines about simplicity which are discouraging in their ambiguity:

"People need it more than anything else

"But find it more complex to understand than anything else."

It would appear that no one has even attempted to analyze these lines -- they are capable of lending themselves to thousands of different interpretations. The reason why simplicity is needed more than anything else by people is more or less obvious: The chaos of life is so much like a jungle, so much like a labyrinth, that man willy-nilly either seeks the already trodden path or cuts his way through and treads a path, willy-nilly grasping either the genuine Ariadne's thread or any thread that appears like Ariadne's. It is in man's nature to try and draw the simplest possible conclusion from complexities, to straighten out convolutions. Tyutchev's line that "A spoken idea is a lie," which is remarkable if rather categorical, contains an error resulting from aphoristic corner-cutting [spryamleniye] because, according to the laws of formal logic, this idea of Tyutchev's is also a lie since it has been spoken by him.

When Lenin spoke his brilliant words that "Communism equals Soviet power plus electrification" back at the time of devastation, smoky lampions, and ancient torches and oil lamps, this corresponded with a prime need of the people at that moment in history. We would have been unable to advance along the unlit path without Ilich's lamps. But only naive or one-sided people could cut corners and think that the onset of communism would occur immediately following electrification. In Lenin's view, Soviet power was not a stagnant term, but something that developed together with society along the path of democracy and social justice, without which communism is impossible. [paragraph continues]

And Lenin did, of course, perceive electrification as just one of the future society's elements. Later modifications of Lenin's words, like "communism equals Soviet power plus chemicalization," failed to work because they vulgarly cut corners in an entire complex of unresolved tasks. And now we have the revolutionary, vigorous, and energetic words "restructuring" — a complex work with numerous meanings. We must not abandon it to the "corner-cutters" who would like to substitute just the uttering of the word "restructuring" for the great cause of restructuring, and to substitute the word "openness" for real openness. Such people are secretly hoping that all this is nothing but just another campaign, and later on matters will fall into the same old rut. Why do they fear restructuring and openness? Simply because restructuring and openness connote open competition of talents in the administrative sphere, in the production sphere, and in the sphere of art. And people incapable of thinking in the new fashion could lose their comfortable armchair in an open competition. Concealed struggle against restructuring is nothing but substitution of cosy "armchair mentality" for revolutionary ideology. But the march of history is unconstrainable. Like the word "sputnik," the Russian word "glasnost" has already become part of the world vocabulary without translation because it is a fact. But the inertia of corner-cutting still has to be overcome. Corner-cutting is not development, it is just an imitation of development.

Generally speaking, we have only too often engaged and are still engaging in corner-cutting, in reducing life's complexities to simplistic formulas, and this has resulted in harsh punishment. Our visual agitation, which only too often is unattractive and on which large sums of the people's money are spent, not only fails to produce results when it is vapidly mass produced but actually works against its own propaganda tasks because it irritates the already tired human vision and engenders derisory skepticism, not to say cynicism. Mass production does not contain even a trace of the romantic and inspired agitation spirit of the posters of the early twenties — diverse, innovative, bold posters.

And yet, the mentality of Soviet man today has become appreciably more complex as a result of the gigantic historical experience of the victories and tragedies of the world's first socialist society. We launched the October revolution with 70 percent illiteracy among the population, and now we are faced with a different problem — a surfeit of people with higher education some of whom, as a result of economic paradoxes, strive to work as waiters, vegetable and fruit inspectors, or electricians in auto repair shops. This is a special topic, but one thing is clear: Today's much more complex life cannot be driven by agitation which is below the standards of even the distant twenties.

Mayakovskiy's admission that "But I gave in, crushing my own song underfoot" refers to the desire to be understood by the broad masses of that time. Pasternak's line "But find it more complex to understand than anything else" grows in importance just as Pasternak himself grows in importance, a man whose books were printed in his own lifetime in runs of 5,000 or 10,000 because he appeared excessively complex to the majority of readers, while today it is impossible to find copies of his books printed in runs of 150,000 or more. Even Khlebnikov, whom Mayakovskiy considered only a poets' poet, becomes easier to understand while, for example, Demyan Bednyy, who was undoubtedly talented but deliberately marched in step with the requirements of the time (for which he was justifiably reprimanded by Lenin), today no longer arouses the same interest.

Of course, the line "But find it more complex to understand than anything else" cannot be applied to the group of admirers of dubious pop songs, who furiously applaud their "vocal ideologists" and switch off their transistor radios as soon as they tune into Bach. [paragraph continues]

U.S. jazz musician Paul Winter, who met some young people at a "Melodiya" Store, was amazed by their phenomenal knowledge of the musical history of U.S. jazz but was even more amazed by the fact that not a single one of those nice young people (by no means parasites or speculators in foreign goods but VUZ graduates) had read any of Dostoyevskiy's books. A university degree is no longer an indicator of intelligence because it merely certifies the right to be considered a specialist -- and not even that in all cases. But being an intellectual is not a specialism, it is a comprehensive interpretation of the world.

Generally speaking, however, we can see again in our country the slow but sure development of that genuine intelligentsia without which society cannot switch to the tracks of the new thinking which is required in the nuclear age. And it is the complex that will be increasingly understandable to this intelligentsia. The complex is always ambiguous and thus defenseless in the face of attacks of the champions of "simplicity" which at times is, in the people's wise saying, "worse than theft." It is worse than theft because it robs not the pocket but the mind.

Sholokhov's "Quiet Flows the Don" was initially subjected to attacks by vulgarizers precisely because they were perplexed by Melekhov's ambiguous character. Because of its ambiguity, Bulgakov's "The Master and Margarita" could not be fitted in the Procrustean bed used by the masters in such matters. It was because of ambiguity that Platonov, who exuded the utmost purity and penetrating patriotism with each of his impassioned words, was also accused of having committed every mortal sin, and some of his works are still awaiting publication. Artistic ambiguity frightens corner-cutters who see it as ideological uncertainty. Meanwhile, it is corner-cutting in literary practice that generates a haze of uncertainty which overshadows and at times even distorts the multifaceted image of reality.

For example, Aytmatov's novel "The Executioner's Block" [Plakha], saturated and maybe even oversaturated with civic anguish, astounds with the image of Akbara, the scene of the slaughter of the antelopes, and the crucifixion on the saxaul tree, and shocks with the tantalean effort to lift such a conglomerate and unbearably heavy burden. But in the scenes depicting Christ and Pontius Pilate the author unexpectedly removes the ambiguity of intention and, despite the author's wish, the reader makes a comparison with Bulgakov to Aytmatov's disadvantage. Fortunately for the novel, these scenes are not its supporting structures but are of the nature of stucco mouldings, even though they may have been conceived otherwise. V. Astafyev, who has written the ambiguous and bloody novella "A Sad Detective Story" [Pechalnyy Detektiv], suddenly lapsed into sensational and ruthless unambiguousness in some of the story's characters like, for example, the woman editor who has failed in her personal life, and this is particularly noticeable in his short story "Fishing for Gudgeon in Georgia" [Lovlya Piskarey v Gruzii]. Belov's most sophisticated use of the Russian language, which he applied when writing "An Ordinary Affair" [Privychnoye Delo] suddenly disappears when he so unambiguously describes our urban intelligentsia in the novel "Everything Lies Ahead..." [Vse Vpered!].

Unambiguousness automatically leads to one-sidedness while ambiguity, provided it takes the form of an agonizing quest for truth rather than evading the truth, is what constitutes genuine art. [paragraph continues]

The award of this year's state prizes -- to the socially poignant and artistically innovative show "Brothers and Sisters" [Bratya i Sestri], staged by L. Dodin and based on F. Abramov's novel; R. Bykov's fearlessly educational movie "Scarecrow" [Chuchelo], which takes a militant stance against the sanctimonious opposite to real teaching; A. Mezhevik's wise, bitter, and professionally impeccable book "Prose in Verse" [Proza v Stikhakh]; V. Karpov's book "Commander" [Polkovodets], which gives its due to General Petrov's honest name; and G. Borovik's considered rather than hasty current affairs work "Prologue" [Prolog] -- is not just another award process but a social action recognizing the right to diversity and ambiguity. By artistically developing the openness which has become the norm of our society's life despite opposition by everything that is on its way out but has not yet finally departed, our art works powerfully and in diverse ways to boost our country's prestige and the prestige of socialism as a whole. The process of "detabooization" of all kinds of "taboos" imposed by the "suppose-something-was-to-go-wrong" school on many aspects of reality serves as guarantee of socioeconomic development which is impossible without unshackled creative thinking.

Creative thinking is creative because it can contain numerous ideas and not just a single unambiguous idea. At times this ambiguity is strikingly dumbfounding: What did the author really want to say? We have kind of gotten used to the fact that we are at times spoonfed a single tiny idea in the form of predigested mush with a sprinkling of sugar on top. And yet, when ideas appear thick and fast in a given work, one hard upon the heels of another, when at times they even contradict one another, when you cannot grasp immediately who is the positive hero and who is the negative, when you have to cudgel your brains and ponder what you have read in the book or seen on the screen -- some of us, the faint-hearted, sense a kind of discomfort, embarrassment, and even irritation or hostility. Those who are used to the author taking them by the hand like small children and patiently explaining everything are apprehensive without a guide in the forest of ambiguity: They look for familiar pointers nailed to the trees.

Tengiz Abuladze's movie "Repentance" [Pokayaniye] is capable of really frightening those who have been brought with pointers and indicators. Where is the action taking place, in what year, and what altogether does the author have in mind? Why is it that people we see on the screen are wearing modern clothes, the guardians of law and order are dressed in pre-revolution police greatcoats, the judges wear Victorian wigs, and the main hero -- or rather anti-hero -- is styled town chief although he wears a paramilitary blouse with a Sam Browne belt and pince-nez reflecting sinister glimpses of a still not forgotten hawk-like glance? What is the meaning of all this mishmash?

All this so-called "mishmash" is a solidly fused alloy of highly developed cinematographic metaphor which we have somehow forgotten since the time we lost Chaplin. Perhaps only in Fellini's best movies are ideas so visually metaphorical. Even so, what Abuladze has produced is not a borrowed collection of foreign mannerisms but a product of Georgian cinematography with its own national imprint despite the whole variety of styles and diversity of masters like E. Shengelaya and G. Shengelaya, R. Chkheidze, O. Ioseliani, L. Gogoberidze, T. Babluani, R. Esadze, and many others. From my point of view, this movie is distinguished by its high standards of acting (Makharadze's excellent work playing two parts, numerous co-starring and supporting actors), M. Agranovich's camera skills, production, and sound recording. The objective of the screenplay could not have been captured without all this. But this objective, which fortunately matched the director's interpretation, constitutes the movie's main artistic and moral victory, which makes it a memorable event in art.

The movie is far from unambiguous and does not go in for picking on specific wounds inflicted in specific historic periods. The movie's idea extends beyond the framework of geography and time.

This is by no means an esoteric republican or esoteric Soviet-made movie -- it reaches for generalizations applicable to all of mankind, summing up the experience of many ages and peoples. Even the guards in medieval armor riding on the running boards of a German Mercedes from the thirties across a field where the heads of people buried alive appear like water melons above the soil -- this is not a stylistic vignette but a necessary, thought-provoking, visual composition. The movie's idea is contained in its perception of evil and violence as extratemporal and extrageographical concepts. The movie's idea is that aggressive and conceited mediocrity in power is terrifying. The movie's idea is about pathological envy of everyone who is more talented. The movie's idea is that if the grandchildren do not know the truth about their grandfathers, they may be crushed by this truth when it descends upon their unprepared fragile heads. The movie's idea is that people who shed innocent blood on this earth are unfit to be on earth. Yes, the movie is ambiguous and attitudes toward it will obviously be ambiguous. But where and when has genuine art been produced to please each and every one, to be liked equally by all? This is not meant at all to be a review of the movie, these are just the initial thoughts it has provoked.

The making of this movie testifies to our society's maturity and strength, to the fact that our country wants peace for freedom, for openness, not its opposite; and this is not a cleverly calculated political game but a sincere and deep-seated desire. The movie is tragic, but it breeds optimism because it has been made and has been allowed to be made: This is a guarantee that such tragic mistakes must not occur in our society which has realized its mistakes and is not afraid to speak about them. Even only 2 years ago it would have been impossible to screen such a movie. But now a new generation has taken over many leading positions in our country, including leading positions in creative unions. This generation is undertaking not to block the truth, even though it may be bitter at times. Elder comrades from among those who have retained their inner youth, combining wisdom with awareness of the necessity for restructuring, are working together with this younger generation, sharing their valuable experience. This is part of the development of the new thinking without which it is impossible to attain society's spiritual maturity. Shortly after Churchill's speech at Fulton and the onset of the "cold war" our ideological sphere experienced a "tightening of the screws"; in particular, unfair attacks were made on Zoshchenko and Akhmatova. The tension of the Caribbean crisis and the new sharp "cooling of the atmosphere" immediately resulted in considerable unpleasantness for some artists and writers.

The qualitative change in our country's atmosphere can also be seen in the fact that today, despite the difficult and agonizing dialogue with the U.S. Administration which, unfortunately, is unwilling to listen to and heed reasonable arguments and proposals on the need for nuclear disarmament and generally on the need for new political thinking in our age, our country is unswervingly continuing the development of democracy and openness in all spheres, including art. This is a genuine Leninist style because, even when our young state was torn asunder by civil war, hunger, and destruction, Lenin -- disregarding the self-appointed arbiters of taste abroad -- waged an open struggle against internal bureaucracy and "communist arrogance" and, even though in terms of literary taste he was poles apart from Mayakovskiy, he supported him politically for his most poignant antibureaucratic poem "Meetings that Never End" [Prozasedavshiyesya]. The development of internal openness trumps the cards in the hands of the enemies of socialism and prevents them from taking advantage of our silence.

When I was in the United States and suggested a reciprocal screening of the top 10 Soviet and U.S. movies in our countries, I encountered understanding among the progressive U.S. public. But matters have not progressed in the slightest because someone's invisible hands are slowing down the solution of this question by claiming that America "has no money!!!" But I think that the secret lies elsewhere. [paragraph continues]

Those who build their anti-Soviet propaganda on accusations that our art "glosses over reality," that it is "conformist," "servile," and even "militarist," find it fatally disadvantageous to show our modern movies at a time when the screens on Broadway, while showing good movies on rare occasions, are dominated by conformity and glossing, and Sylvester Stallone, showing off a bodybuilder's muscles, is the symbol of justice and democracy opposing robot-like Russians with the bloodthirsty eyes of blond beasts. Meanwhile, our art today is developing along the path of overcoming conformity and glossing.

The appearance of another new movie -- Vadim Abdrashitov's "Plyumbum, or Dangerous Game" [Plyumbum, ili Opasnaya Igra] -- is also extremely symptomatic. This is a movie about an adolescent schoolboy who helps militia organs capture criminals, becoming something like a volunteer young detective. A speculative and unambiguous resolution of this topic could result in this kid's transformation into a hero, an example to be emulated. But it was no accident that the director subtitled the movie "Dangerous Game," because the kid, spiritually not mature enough for power, gets intoxicated and carried away by it, at times going as far as sadism and forcing the woman with whom he is childishly in love to crow like a cockerel, which she does, trembling with fear at her juvenile sovereign. And the kid likes this role, because the germ of love for power which has infected his soul gives him a pleasant sensation. At one point Plyumbum's cassette recorder is stolen by a hooligan, stronger and more impudent than him. This incident offends Plyumbum's pride and awakens an inferiority complex in him, and he starts exerting all his strength to become a "superman." But man's transformation into superman is fraught with the loss of humanity. This is what happens to Plyumbum when, against the background of his supermanhood, even the aimless drunkards from the boiler room on whom he informs (and the small part of one of them is played by Zaytsev at the level of the highest world standards) begin to appear much more sympathetic and human. Plyumbum justifies his behavior by claiming that he is doing it for their benefit, but this already seems hypocritical because Plyumbum's main objective is different -- not to save them but to prove his unique character.

Militia staffers notice something frightening and strange in this assistant who arrogantly imposes himself and strive to keep their distance when he latches on to them so shamelessly. Their professional senses detect the smell of sulfur coming from this tiny devil. But while not making a hero out of Plyumbum, Abdrashitov has taken the opposite path of the unambiguous antihero. Plyumbum also has some good qualities -- he definitely possesses rare gifts, he is courageous, and he displays a civic hatred for those who rob Russia; he is sincerely inclined toward the romantic, he also has some good impulses, and, generally speaking, despite his force-fed maturity and supermanhood, he is still a kid and likes to kick a ball around. It is uncertain what Plyumbum will become in the future. Could it be that his soul will be transformed by the fact that he accidentally put in prison someone who had repented or by the death of a totally innocent girl? Unfortunately, this death is presented in the movie so professionally and brilliantly, perhaps too brilliantly, to touch people's hearts.

There is plenty to perplex both critics and viewers, and some children may even play the part of Plyumbum without realizing that his games are dangerous not only for himself but also for all others. But after all, have children never before played the part of someone who is totally undeserving of being emulated? And how about Plyumbum himself -- could it be that he is also modeled on someone? Plyumbum's character is totally new for our art, but not for reality. It is time to demolish the "discrepancy" between reality and art. After all, art is nothing but reality depicted in a concentrated form. Recently I have noticed with joy the appearance of new characters in print, on the stage, and on the screen. A "detabooization" not only of subjects but also of characters is in progress. [paragraph continues]

Examples of this can be seen in the present-day looters in Voznesenskiy's poem "The Ditch" [Rov], Aytmatov's cannabis gatherers, the caged children in the movie "Scarecrow," the physician in the movie "Letters From a Dead Man" [Pisma Mertvogo Cheloveka], and the goons in the movie "Go and See" [Idi i Smotri]. Critics were justified in reproaching playwright Yu. Edlis for many aspects of his first novel, but it does contain an image which is totally new in our literature -- the image of the movie editor which is striking in its ambiguity and its fusion of what appear to be totally mutually exclusive qualities. Having gotten used to the idea that Georgiy Semenov is a calm and lyrical sketch writer [akvarelist] with a penchant for hunting themes, the critics were perplexed by his unexpectedly complicated vision of the world in "An Urban Novel" [Gorodskoy Roman] and his latest novella "The Fox's Brain" [Um Lisitsy], which contain amazing insights into the world never before written by anyone. I have never been an admirer of A. Gelman's plays, because it seemed to me that, in a journalistic fashion, he cuts too many corners in the pursuit of noble but too pragmatic goals. But having read his confessional article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, I was pleasantly shocked by the moral and artistic reserves apparently contained inside him. I am pleased that new works by V. Dudintsev, A. Rybakov, and A. Pristavkin will soon be published, works which I had an opportunity to review for internal purposes.

If we apply metamorphosis to the struggle which has been waged in our art, the first viewpoint on numerous pressing painful problems of the past and the present would be something like: "Do not rub salt into the wound." The second viewpoint would be different: "Do not rub sugar into the wound." It is the viewpoint of truth -- sometimes salty, sometimes bitter -- that prevails now, because the honest salt of truth is always healing.

There is ambiguity stemming from vacillation, ambiguity which evades and shies away from the direct answers presented by life. But there is also ambiguity stemming from abundance of talent, from the richness and ambiguity of the life which this talent depicts.

Some "Sovietologists" in the West try to present matters as if the party has instructed Soviet artists to be honest -- and so they have become honest. They want to denigrate even the truth of our art as being allegedly time-serving. Of course, we unfortunately still have time-servers who only yesterday were engaged in applying speculative cosmetics to painful problems and today are trying to find themselves a niche in restructuring. But many honest Soviet artists of the written word, the screen, the theater, music, and the brush (and they constitute the majority among us) can deservedly be proud of the fact that they have not obtained restructuring and openness like gifts handed down "from on high." These artists have struggled for restructuring and openness over many years, despite lack of understanding and at times even insulting attacks, and prepared the historical breakthrough together with our society which declared restructuring and openness as moral postulates at the 27th party congress. Our restructuring is not a demolition of ideals, but demolition of the dogmas fettering these ideals. Our openness stems from the old but never-aging term "the voice of the people."

Ambiguous in creative vision and style, we Soviet artists are unambiguous on one point: In love for our motherland, for humanity, for peace on earth, and for truth in art.

UKRAINIAN CP REPRIMANDS LEGAL OFFICIALS

AU121745 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 8 Jan 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has examined materials concerning the gross infringements of the law committed by Voroshilovgrad Oblast law and order organs in instituting criminal proceedings against V.B. Berkhin, chief of the correspondents' center of the journal SOVETSKIY SHAKHTER, which was reported in the newspaper PRAVDA of 29 November 1986.

The adopted decision notes that the infringements of the law became possible as a result of the serious shortcomings in the work carried out to educate the cadres of Voroshilovgrad Oblast prosecutor's and internal affairs organs, and of the slackened control over their activity and exactingness on the part of the Voroshilovgrad Obkom, the Ukrainian SSR Prosecutor's Office, and the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs. Instead of taking effective steps to ensure that the citizens are protected in their rights and lawful interests, that they are defended against any encroachments, some functionaries of the aforesaid oblast's law and order organs themselves embarked upon the path of unlawful acts with regard to V.B. Berkhin.

Comrade V.P. Shatalov, Voroshilovgrad Oblast prosecutor, and Comrade G.M. Vetrov, chief of the Internal Affairs Administration under the Voroshilovgrad Oblispolkom, have been severely reprimanded for their irresponsible attitude toward their duties and their gross infringement of the law in instituting criminal proceedings against V.B. Berkhin.

The attention of Comrade P.G. Osipenko, Ukrainian SSR prosecutor, and of Comrade I.D. Gladush, Ukrainian minister of internal affairs, has been strictly called to the lack of control over the activity of the oblast's law and order organs, and to their failure to take well-timed and appropriate measures to eliminate the gross infringements of the law and to punish the officials guilty of them.

The attention of the Voroshilovgrad Obkom Bureau and of the obkom First Secretary, Comrade B.T. Goncharenko personally, has been strictly called to the low level of responsibility of law and order organ cadres for the strict observance of legality, discipline, and order. The obkom bureau has been instructed to examine the causes of the infringements of legality committed by individual functionaries of the oblast's law and order organs in handling V.B. Berkhin's case; to settle the question of their party responsibility; to take steps in order to rule out similar cases in the future; and to reinforce the cadres of these organs with politically mature and professionally well prepared functionaries.

The Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has imposed the obligation on obkoms and on the Kiev Gorkom to strengthen political leadership in law and order organs, to exert constant control over their activity, and to increase the personal responsibility of leaders in these organs for the strict observance of legality in their activity.

UKRAINIAN OFFICIALS AWARDED ORDERS OF LENIN

AU121829 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 6 Jan 87 p 1

[RATAU report: "Presentation of High Awards"]

[Excerpts] On 4 January, state awards were presented in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium to a group of front-ranking production workers and innovators, functionaries of party, administrative, economic, and law and order organs, health service workers, and scientists. The awards were presented by V. S. Shevchenko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deputy chairman, Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, and Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman.

The recipients of the Orders of Lenin were: N. F. Nikolayev, Ukrainian Council of Ministers deputy chairman; Major General of the Militia G. V. Berdov, Ukrainian deputy minister of internal affairs; Internal Service Major General F. N. Desyatnikov, Fire Service Administration chief in the Ukrainian Ministry of Internal Affairs; and A. V. Semenov, construction administration chief in the Kiev subway construction trust. [passage omitted]

V. S. Shevchenko warmly congratulated the award recipients and wished them new successes in accomplishing the tasks set by the party.

MOVIE PITS BORDER GUARDS AGAINST U.S. AGENTS

LD101810 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 87

[From the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program]

[Text] Mosfilm studios have finished shooting a new feature film, "Interception" [perekhvat], which portrays the struggle of Soviet border guards against foreign agents. We'd like to tell you about the film.

The action of the film takes place on our country's Western coast and also out at sea, where a U.S. submarine lies concealed at great depth. It needs to be replaced by another submarine performing the same espionage mission, but for this to be done it is necessary to disable for several hours an antenna which receives signals from a Soviet satellite which covers that sea area. The antenna is in the border zone, and the most convenient way to put it out of action is to fire on it from a barge anchored not far from the shore. The Americans also know that they can only get to the barge if our border patrol boat is decoyed as far away from the barge as possible. Having planned the details of the whole operation down to the last second, they send their warship toward our territorial waters, and it passes along the very border.

The Soviet border patrol vessel approaches it and begins to shadow it. At the same time, agent (Brewstern), played by Vladimir Menshov, is parachuted from a Boeing into a remote area of our border zone. On landing, he is spotted by Warrant Officer Mechanic (Bakhteyev), played by the actor Andrey Rostotskiy, who happened to be at this isolation spot, resting by a campfire. The clash between the two -- a duel between the professional spy and the warrant officer -- is at the center of the events recounted in the film. There are fights, chases and breath-taking stunts. At one moment (Brewstern) evades pursuit, but the border guards already know about him -- (Bakhteyev) has warned them. [passage omitted]

KURSK CONSUMER SERVICE EXPERIMENT REPORTED

PM121040 Moscow TRUD in Russian 28 Dec 86 p 2

[Special correspondent N. Nadezhkina article under the rubric "Experiment in Progress": "The Samovar Was Repaired, Too... Consumer Service Cooperatives Are Being Set Up in Kursk Oblast"]

[Text] Kursk Oblast -- When I realized that I could not avoid redecorating my apartment, I set off for the consumer service office. They sent a technician -- at a price, naturally -- to do an estimate. A pretty girl carefully measured the floors, ceilings, and windows, spent a long time doing sums, and finally pronounced the verdict: We can start in January -- there is a long waiting line; there is about 2 weeks' work here; the craftsmen only work on weekdays from 9 to 5... It was September. I thought about it: Wait for 3 months, then spend 2 weeks' leave carrying out garbage and grinding floors? Then I went to a decorator who was recommended by some friends of mine. True, he came more expensive. But he cleaned up after himself. He brought a comrade, worked two evenings and a Saturday till late, and finished off on Sunday. They had enamel paint, which is still hard to come by, and laminate for the kitchen, which is in short supply.

Condemn me if you have never resorted to this "underground" service yourself. It has adapted, not without success, to life in the spacious cracks which are left by our none too resourceful consumer service system.

All the same, something jars: Where did they get a floor grinder? -- you don't find them on sale. Where did they get the artificial leather, the Finnish wallpaper, the elegant accessories? You pay for their work, and in a way you are taking part yourself in their slightly shady trade...

But here is some more information to consider. Sociologists carried out a poll in the cities of Western Siberia. They discovered that 17 percent of the working population engage in additional paid work in their free time. And another 27 percent would like to obtain such work. Society has an interest in supplementing manpower resources, and the recently adopted Law on Individual Labor Activity creates the legal foundations for such employment. But it is within everyone's power to obtain the necessary equipment, acquire materials, and find clients?

In Kursk Oblast they have tried to resolve the problem in this way: By way of an experiment, consumer service cooperatives have been set up in the oblast center, the city of Kurchatov, and two villages.

"Why did we do this?" Vladimir Mikhaylovich Zhiltsov, deputy chairman of the oblispolkom and one of the initiators and ardent supporters of the new work, eagerly explains. "We looked at the work of the consumer service system -- some of the services which people badly need have for some reason slipped out of the system's sphere of activity: They cannot cope with the volume of work, and there is a cadre shortage. That is one thing. On the other hand, there are moonlighters -- that is what we call them -- who do not really like that social status. They would gladly work on a legal basis, especially now that the struggle against unearned income is being conducted more actively."

At first, as is usual with all new babies, the cooperatives were carefully supervised. It was decided not to exact taxes from them for the duration of the experiment. Care was taken on the subject of cadres. People realized that the success of the matter depended largely on the economic gumption and resourcefulness of the leaders.
[paragraph continues]

Gennadiy Petrovich Velikhovatskiy came to the Kursk cooperative from his former position as chief of the rural services section, while Sergey Nikolayevich Sviridov, chief of a department at the Rossiya Kolkhoz, became head of the Ivanovskoye cooperative. The bank provided credit. The ispolkoms made premises available for rent. Help was given with the acquisition of sawhorses, machine tools, and other tools. Transport was allocated. In Ivanovskoye the cooperative also received a tractor with a trailer, plow, and cultivator. From the kolkhoz yard, they brought Malchik -- a horse -- without which you cannot cope with rural work. But don't think our new baby became a parasite from its very first days. Everything was paid for on credit, and they started repayments with the very first profits.

The cooperatives were also provided with materials. At first, they managed to collect a few things. But as the scale of work widens, that was no longer sufficient. So the obolispolkom is convinced that in future the supply organizations will have to plan to provide materials for the cooperatives as a separate item...

A standard statute was drawn up. The cooperative is headed by a board, which is accountable to the general assembly. Membership is open to pensioners, disabled people, students at VUZ's and other institutions, and also working people -- they will work in their free time from their main employment. Work in the cooperative counts toward your labor record and is taken into account in fixing and revising pensions. The profits are used to repay loans and create development and incentive funds, and the sums remaining are distributed among the workers in proportion to their wages.

What services will the cooperative offer? A difficult question. They started all at once, like learning to swim -- into the water, and then it's up to you. In Kursk, for instance, they boldly wrote on the office doors: "We take orders for all types of services." At the same time there were announcements in the newspapers and on the radio: They invited both clients and people with skills who would like to work. Almost at once, 130 people responded. I must say, they were not able to use them all in the first instance, the tutors, for instance. But the cooperatives are not losing touch with the teachers. Spring will soon be here, and that is the busy time of examination preparations. But there were more than enough orders for covering doors and doing all kinds of joinery work -- the weaknesses of household repair services told. There was work for typists and decorators.

In Kurshatov the range of services was even wider. This was doubtless to be expected -- in a small city the potential of the consumer service system is less. The members of the cooperative here built garages and garden huts and redecorated apartments. They repaired tires. The city had no such service, yet every second person has his own car. If a tire needs repairing, you go to the departmental garage, you pay the foreman, and he does it in his own working time. Now, in the evenings, after his shift as a tire repair worker at the local truck enterprise, Salavat Asgatovich Sakayev opens a little workshop -- fitted out in the old bus office. He works quickly, he does not ask much money, and, most important, he does not ask any favors. In the winter there are not so many orders, so he has taken to sharpening knives and scissors, too...

What services are in the shortest supply in the countryside? Yes, of course, plowing kitchen gardens, transporting fuel, and sawing timber. "In the fall, my office door is never shut," Stanislav Fedorovich Krasovskiy, chairman of the board of the Rossiya Kolkhoz, which is in Ivanovskoye village, explained, "with people asking for a truck to carry coal. We give it to them; they go to the dump. Just think, a whole working day is lost. And in the spring, for the plowing, they entice a tractor operator to come to them, and not only is time lost, but then they treat him -- what kind of work do you get out of him after that? I am in favor of the cooperative, and I'm prepared to help it -- we have given them premises, a horse, we are going to hand over a mill..."

The organizers drew their first conclusion: The services which were successful in the cooperative were those which nobody had offered formerly. But not only that. In a way, the cooperative stimulates the local consumer services system too. Judge for yourselves. The cooperative people work at a convenient time for the client. Redecorating apartments, for instance, in the evenings and on days off -- after all, they hold more than one job, so it is convenient for them. The work is done extremely quickly -- they have an interest in earning their wages. They are flexible. If they are laying linoleum, they will move the furniture themselves. You have to take a faulty sewing machine to the consumer services system's workshop yourself, but here the expert comes to your apartment. Until the craftsman has won a good reputation, every job is carefully checked. One decorator did a poor job of whitewashing a ceiling -- they did not even wait for the client to complain; they put it right, and got rid of the shoddy worker the same day. As an example to the others.

Among other things, all this is making the consumer services system buck up its ideas. In the Ivanovo cooperative, seamstress Valentina Alipova (she works at a branch of the footwear factory, and this is her second job) started making drapes with frills, which are in fashion now. I asked at the House of Consumer Services workshop: Will you take an order for those? The reply: "We did not before, but now we probably will."

The prices for services and payment for labor are no simple matter, either. In Kursk, more than half the prices are contract prices. Calculations are made and the expenditure of labor and time is taken into account. The client does not object, so everything is in order. And there are some jobs where there is no alternative to contract prices. Refurbishing an antique chair, for instance, turning a leg for it, restoring grandmother's samovar -- how can these things be priced? In Kurchatov, more use is made of the consumer services price list. But the workman is paid not at fixed rates, but on the basis of a fixed percentage of the proceeds. Given this approach, the jobs which the people in the consumer service system avoid like the plague become advantageous -- cutting glass, for instance, and fitting windows. I spoke with economists about the cooperative prices. They are convinced that prices should also depend on demand. Then more people will be willing to do these jobs. The shortage will gradually disappear, so the service will become cheaper.

What percentage of the proceeds should be paid to the workman -- that is another question. If it is not enough, nobody will want to do the work; if it is too much, the cooperative will go bust, and it has to make a profit, or how can it develop? In Kurchatov this percentage is set at a board session. For building garages outside and in bad weather, for instance, it is higher, while for cutting out a dress in a warm building it is lower. At the moment they are not taking into account what equipment the workman uses, whether he works with his own tools or the cooperative's, and the question of whether services are in short supply is not taken into account. Much remains to be clarified and sorted out.

How will the cooperatives develop in future? Some people think that you cannot do without full-time staffers; a joinery shop is being fitted out and you cannot manage there with part-time people. But Aleksandr Sergeyevich Letunovskiy, chief engineer on the consumer services administration, is of a different opinion: The cooperatives must not divert manpower from social production, the specimen statute specifically states -- pensioners, students, people with other jobs. In brief, they are studying the options and developing a sensible system in Kursk. And not without success. In the past 5 months the cooperatives have provided services to the tune of nearly R30,000 and fulfilled some 2,000 orders. It is only natural that not everything is decided yet. It is always difficult to begin.